

THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

THE EDITOR

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH THE

PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THE HON. R. S. GARFIELD TODD

COLOUR BAR *VERSUS* THE CONSTITUTION

GEORGE CURRY

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM

J. ENOCH POWELL

RIDDLE OF THE NEW CHINA

DESMOND DONNELLY

DEALING WITH FOREIGNERS

LORD VANSITTART

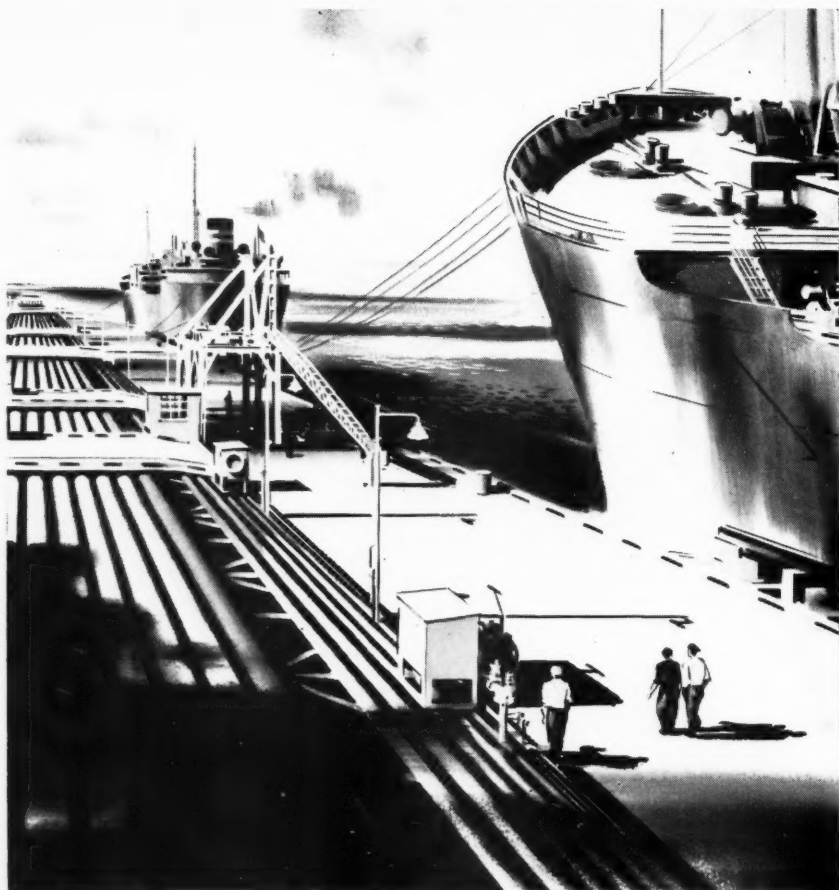
AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS BY DENYS SMITH, DAVID

HOTHAM, MICHAEL JAFFÉ, ERIC GILLET, COLONEL S. F.

NEWCOMBE, RUBY MILLAR, AND ALEC ROBERTSON

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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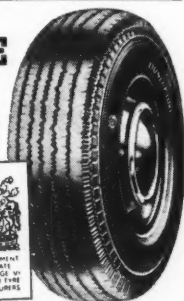
ALEC ROBERTSON: Writer, critic and broadcaster. Author of books on Dvořák, Sacred Music, Plainchant, etc.

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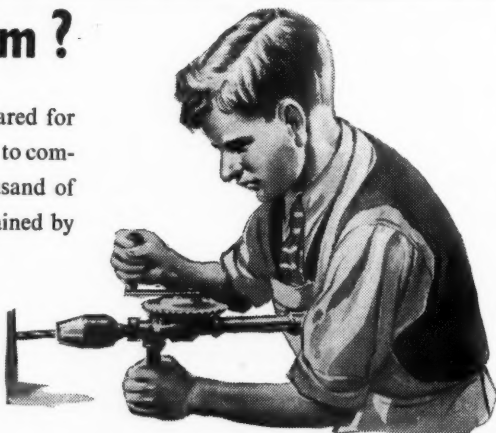
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THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

FIGHTING has stopped in Indo-China. The French Prime Minister's gamble came off and the success of his marathon effort of negotiation, together with Mr. Eden's tireless and devoted work, has been hailed with varying degrees of enthusiasm in most parts of the world. On July 21 the necessary pacts were signed at Geneva and the last plenary session of the Geneva Conference gave its assent to what had been agreed. Only the United States refused to partake in the joint declaration, but issued instead a separate statement, accepting the settlement by implication, while stressing that any violation of it would be viewed "with grave concern as seriously threatening international peace and security." Apart from this vague threat, no guarantees were given by the Western Powers and their Asian Allies that the armistice line would be defended.

Best in the Circumstances

THE lack of guarantees is a dangerous feature, but in other respects the terms obtained by M. Mendès-France, and agreed to, presumably with great reluctance, by the Associated States, were the best that could have been hoped for in the circumstances. The most important provisions are that Viet-Nam will be partitioned roughly along the line of the 17th parallel, while special arrangements have been made for Laos and Cambodia; that the whole of Indo-China will be neutralized, in the sense that no part of it is to allow the establishment of military bases on its territory or to join in any military alliance; that elections are to be held throughout Viet-Nam by July 20, 1956; and that meanwhile the armistice will be supervised by Commissions consisting of Indian, Polish and Canadian representatives.

The answer to the question which we asked last month—"To whom the Red River delta?"—has been decisively given. French forces will withdraw, first from Hanoi, and within ten months from Haiphong, leaving the whole Northern area, with its population of nearly thirteen millions, under Viet-Minh control. It is perhaps hardly surprising that the Foreign Minister of Viet-Nam, Mr. Do, has resigned saying

"I have failed in my mission." But behind that diplomatic failure lay the military failure of French Union forces to hold their own in the North.

No Opportunity Missed

IN some quarters the armistice has been denounced as a Far Eastern Munich, but those who make this charge are the victims of muddled thinking. At Munich the Western democracies came to terms—highly discreditable terms—with an aggressive tyrant. So far there is indeed some parallel between the two cases, though a discriminating eye could observe some differences. But that was not the most significant fact about Munich. The real tragedy was that the last opportunity was missed of standing up to Hitler and calling his bluff. It is almost certain that if France and Britain had stood firm in 1938 the Nazi régime would have collapsed, and it is quite certain that we should have fought the war then, if war had in fact broken out, on more advantageous terms than in 1939, when Russia had been driven into partnership with Germany, the Skoda works were in German hands, and the Siegfried defences were prepared.

In the present Far Eastern situation it cannot be said that any such opportunity has been missed. If we had "stood up to the Communists," by intervening, say, in the battle for the Red River delta, we should merely have become involved in a long and costly struggle, on terrain and in conditions very adverse to ourselves, and at the risk of turning a local war into another world conflict. To have avoided this can hardly be described as cowardice or shortsightedness.

Churchill's Influence will Prevail

IT is generally conceded that the Prime Minister's visit to Washington at the end of last month was a distinct personal triumph. Mr. Eden was with him, and they had long conversations with the American leaders, as a result of which certain practical measures were agreed to, and the broad principles of Anglo-American partnership re-asserted in what has come to be known as the "Potomac Charter."

But the main feature, and probably the main purpose, of the visit was Sir Winston's direct appeal, first to Congressmen at a White House luncheon, then to the American people through the medium of press and television, that his doctrines of "co-existence" and "peace through strength" be sympathetically considered. He was able to remind his hearers, with gentle irony, that the United States had not been so anti-Communist at the time of his Fulton speech as it is today. Millions of Americans must have been left wondering whether a man who had been so right before might not be equally right again. Sir Winston's influence in his "mother's land" is incomparable, and we believe that it will once more prevail, though how soon we cannot say.

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Gold and Dollar Reserve

THE gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area rose in May by \$165 million, which was the largest monthly increase since March, 1951. The rise in June was only a modest \$32 million, which was the smallest increase since January of this year; but this modest increase did at least enable the reserves to climb past the \$3,000 million mark, and they now stand at their highest level since September, 1951. The figures for June were not really so very disappointing, because the very large flow of foreign funds to London had been checked by the middle of May. Undoubtedly there was an element of speculation in this exceptional inflow, due in considerable part to the differences which prevailed between the respective rates of interest in London and in New York. It is a most remarkable example of how fallible economic prediction can prove that the recent recession in the United States, so far from causing a drain on our reserves as in 1949, actually had the reverse effect in 1954. One cannot help wondering whether, if both the British and American Governments had employed the monetary weapon five years ago, it might not have been possible to avert the need for so drastic a devaluation of the £, with all its serious implications for the standard of living of the British people. It is certainly most encouraging that the sterling area should be continuing to earn a dollar surplus even after this speculative flow of funds has ceased, and the present favourable position reflects the very greatest credit on the almost invariably sound judgment which Mr. Butler has shown during the past two and a half years.

No Complacency

NONE the less, it would be a great error to become complacent about the future of sterling. It is quite likely that the reserves will be subjected to a fairly severe strain during the next few months. Large payments for dollar grain are usually made during the summer and early autumn, and in addition it is highly likely that Britain's balance with the European Payments Union will worsen substantially—partly as a result of tourist expenditure and partly because we are approaching the season when Britain imports fairly large quantities of those inessential foods from the Continent which, if sometimes delectable, are seldom cheap. Above all, the reserves will very soon be affected by the large payments which have to be made to European creditors under the agreed arrangements for the funding of Britain's overdraft with the E.P.U. In brief, Britain and the sterling area are in a stronger position to withstand any economic storm than they have been for a very long while; but it would be most unwise to anticipate further months of more or less unruffled calm.

Britain's Overseas Trade

THE statistics of Britain's trade for the first half of 1954 are slightly disquieting. It is quite true that exports during the first half of 1954 were 7 per cent. higher than in the corresponding period of 1953. All the same, the average monthly value of exports has remained more or less stable during the last nine months; the figures for the second quarter of 1954 were very slightly below those for the first quarter, and the figures for June were £11 million lower than those for May. Furthermore, the average monthly value of imports rose in the second quarter of 1954 by about £11 million. This is hardly surprising when one considers the level of industrial activity at home, and also the level of consumption. But it is none the less disquieting, especially since the terms of trade are moving very slightly against Britain at the present time. Certainly we can no longer count on a favourable trend in the terms of trade to conceal the consequences of the fact that the British people, as a whole, are doing themselves pretty well. And the recent trade statistics do suggest more forcibly than ever that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was absolutely right in his decision to introduce a cautious Budget, with no great inducements to yet higher levels of personal consumption.

Very Full Employment

IT has not been very widely noticed that at the end of May, 1954, more people were at work in Britain than ever before—the total number in civil employment was 22½ million. The rate of unemployment was down to just over one per cent., and the number of workers who had been unemployed for more than eight weeks was fewer than at any time since December, 1951.

Some people would argue that these figures can only mean that Britain's economy is once again in an inflationary state. It is certainly true that there are some symptoms of over-full employment, and there have been some acute shortages of skilled labour in many parts of the country. Yet it is only fair to remark that, whereas the labour force in the metal-using industries has risen very substantially during the past year, some other industries have been losing man-power on quite a large scale. There is certainly good reason to think that the labour force is better distributed in accordance with the real wishes of the consumers of British products—both at home and overseas—than was ever the case under Socialism. But these employment figures are just one more indication that the British economy is being strained to its limit, and that it would be most unwise for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to encourage any tendency towards increased softness in the economy. Incidentally, the present figures have one rather disagreeable political implication, because it is highly unlikely that the unemployment rate will be quite so low at the time of the next General Election as it is to-day.

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Television Bill in the Lords

LAST month the Government's Television Bill completed the last stage of its journey to the Statute Book. In the House of Lords it was once again exhaustively discussed and subjected to the censure of its most august critics. But, with the help of "backwoodsmen," stirred to legislative action by the stimulus of a three-line Whip, the voting went in favour of the Government. Lord Samuel was indignant at this procedure and claimed that, if the Bill went through, the House of Lords would lose any reputation it might have as an impartial Revising Chamber. In his opinion, and in that of other peers, the Bill should have been left to a free vote, inasmuch as there was no electoral mandate for it; and Lord Halifax argued that, if the Government were defeated on such a free vote, they would be under no obligation to resign. The Constitutional merits of this argument are hard to assess, but the Government clearly felt that the Bill's own merits were greater, and it was accordingly passed through the House of Lords and made ready for the Royal Assent.

Shadow of the B.B.C.

WHAT of the Bill's own merits? To the extent that it destroys the odious system of public monopoly on the air, it is a great step forward. But it does not entirely destroy that system. The new Television Authority, which will compete with the B.B.C., will at the same time have much in common with its competitor. There will be the same vexatious control of religious and political broadcasts, and there will be a general power of censorship. As the Postmaster-General has said: "The Authority can demand scripts, either after or before showing, and can even forbid the broadcasting of certain material." In other words the new Authority (or I.T.A., as it has been called) will be in some ways a pale shadow of the B.B.C. That is why we cannot welcome it with unalloyed pleasure.

But there is no denying that the mere existence of a rival corporation will mitigate the evil of monopoly, and the I.T.A.'s relative independence of public finance will be another blessing. To critics of the Bill, however, this will be the very worst feature of the new arrangement. They are convinced (probably with justice) that advertisers will influence the contractors in their choice of programmes, in spite of the Bill's careful avoidance of "sponsoring" as such. And they are equally convinced that the result of that influence will be at best a failure to uplift, at worst a tendency to corrupt, the public taste.

False View of Broadcasting

THIS view is based, as we have tried before to suggest, upon a view of broadcasting in general, and the B.B.C. in particular, which is totally false. It amazes us that so many intelligent people should have

swallowed the fantastic theory that broadcasting is a medium of education. The mandarins of the B.B.C., though they have propounded that theory with sickening self-righteousness, have been very loth to act upon it, and the bulk of their programmes has always come under the heading of entertainment. No advertiser could pander to the public more assiduously than the B.B.C. has done. The only difference is that private enterprise may enable better programmes to be produced, and that the desire to please will no longer be coated over with a nauseating smear of hypocrisy.

The issue between the anti-monopolists and the B.B.C. brigade was summed up in an exchange between Lord Salisbury and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The former put the question point-blank: "Does the most reverend Primate regard such programmes as 'Much Binding in the Marsh' as educational . . . or many others produced by the B.B.C.?" "Of course I do," replied the Archbishop, "because they produce some kind of response of mental, spiritual or moral judgment." "In that case," said Lord Salisbury, with crushing logic, "I do not really know what sort of complaint the most reverend Primate has against the programmes which are likely to be produced by the new companies."

A Necessary Evil

FROM this triumphant encounter Lord Salisbury advanced on to more debatable ground, when he asserted that the mass of his compatriots would not, if left to themselves, choose "the lowest that they can get" in the way of programmes. In this he may perhaps have been showing the somewhat excessive zeal for democracy which a thoroughgoing patrician is bound to show, if he is to survive in contemporary politics. In fact, the general level of taste is low and is likely to remain so for many years to come. Entertainment for the mass will therefore have to be of inferior quality—judged by æsthetic, intellectual or moral standards.

But freedom must come before virtue, because there can be no genuine virtue without freedom. It is only by education in its true sense—by the steady, painful acquisition of knowledge, art or skill, and by the personal discipline of thought and prayer—that a higher standard can eventually be achieved. And when that has been achieved, it will hardly be necessary to worry about the standard of broadcast programmes, because "listening" and "viewing" will have lost their drug-like potency. Meanwhile there is much to be said for recognizing our own limitations and for allowing people to go to Heaven, or to Hell, their own way. Broadcasting is on the whole an evil, but it is a necessary evil, and we might as well extract as much enjoyment from it as we can—even at the risk of displeasing such arbiters of taste as Lord Hailsham and Sir William Haley.

New Approach to the Electors

IN the midst of all the fuss and flurry about commercial television, a most important event occurred on July 1 in the B.B.C.'s television service. The Conservative Party staged a programme in which the live

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

telephone technique was used for the first time in this country. Mr. Reginald Maudling, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, answered questions which came over the telephone and were taken down and put to him in turn by two candidates sitting at either side of him. In this way he replied impromptu to sixteen questions during the twenty minutes allotted for the broadcast, and he later wrote personally to 823 people whose questions there was no time to answer on the air. The switch-board at the Conservative Central Office (where the broadcast took place) was kept open for nearly two hours, but in spite of this the number of people who actually got through was only a small minority of those who responded to the appeal for questions. It is estimated that at least 10,000 tried to make contact, and the G.P.O. complained bitterly of the dislocation which had been caused by this rush to the telephone in every part of the country. Though not quite perfect in its presentation (the two candidates were rather stilted in voice and manner) the programme was obviously a very great success and reflects much credit on those who planned it—especially on Mr. Mark Chapman-Walker, the clever and unobtrusive man who is Chief Publicity Officer of the Conservative Party. A new form of electioneering has come into our national life which will certainly now be developed and play a large part in the next few elections. In this connection, it is most important to remember that two-thirds of the television sets in this country are owned by people who earn less than £650 a year.

Mass Meeting—Modern Style

TELEVISION has now given us a modern variant of the mass meeting—a political occasion involving an audience of millions, who do not have to leave the comfort of their homes in order to hear a leading statesman. They can hear him and see him at close quarters, simply by turning a knob, and they can ask him a question simply by picking up a telephone. From the elector's point of view, this is politics without tears; from the statesman's it may be less exhilarating. Of course the waging of political warfare by conventional methods (to use a topical phrase) will not be suspended and in the long run the importance of television, in this as in other ways, may diminish. But in the immediate future the new super-weapon of political propaganda cannot be disregarded, and we are glad to note that the Conservative Party has established a clear lead in the technique of using it.

Complaints by the G.P.O., and threats to sabotage such programmes in the future, should only serve to draw attention to the inefficiency of our nationalized posts and telegraphs. It may indeed be asked: if we can have commercial television, why should we not have commercial telephones? That question deserves serious consideration by the Government, because the delay and frustration caused nowadays on our telephones and in our post offices is second only to that caused on our roads and in the streets of big cities.

Goodbye to Rationing

OVER fourteen years of rationing came to an end when sales of meat, the last foodstuff subject to control, were freed on July 4. Supplies of food of all kinds, rationed and unrationed, have been so much more abundant recently that the great day itself passed off as something of an anti-climax, in spite of a few bonfires organized by adherents of the Housewives' League. Credit should therefore be given here to the resolution and administrative resource of the Government, which has made possible this result in a surprisingly short space of time.

How popular is it in the country? It may take some time for the post-war generation, who have never known anything except rationed shopping, to learn how to make the best of the new conditions. When they do, health, morale and efficiency will be better all round. What is more—and this is the significant political consideration—although it is highly doubtful whether a Socialist Government would have willed, or worked for, this result, it could only reverse it with the greatest difficulty and loss of popularity. By the ending of rationing a bastion of the free economy has been erected. It is impossible to have rationing without price controls, or price controls without rationing. A Socialist Government which wished to reimpose the one could not avoid having the other. And such a step, except in grave national emergency, would not be feasible politically. Here, then, is an achievement which should stand, with all its beneficent consequences, however much the work of the present Government might be upset in other ways by a Socialist successor.

Fatstock Marketing

IF it is true that family shoppers will take some time to learn how to make the best of the new conditions of "buy as you please," it is even more true of the farming community, who now face a free market in most of the produce they have to sell. It is still rather too early for full comment upon the way the new fatstock marketing arrangements are working, but certain facts have emerged and may be quoted. The N.F.U.'s Fatstock Marketing Corporation has got off to a good start, and it is understood that the main difficulties encountered so far have been administrative and that they will be quickly straightened out in the light of experience. It is certain that, but for the rapid establishment of this organisation in time for de-control (it was put together in rather less than six months) there would have been considerable chaos and congestion in the auction marts up and down the country. In the first markets to operate the new arrangements, somewhat unreal conditions prevailed, with heavy buying by the butchers, who were anxious to open their shops with impressive stocks on show. This attracted a large entry on two succeeding days, and as a result prices became artificially low for a time, and then recovered. Certainly some fatstock, especially pigs and sheep, changed hands in the early days at prices which need never have been accepted by farmers

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as reflecting the true state of the market. The lesson seems to be that it will be in everyone's interests—farmers', traders' and shoppers' alike—if "panic" buying and selling can be avoided in the future for the sake of a steady flow of supplies. All this may well come with practice, and we hope that the system will in future work smoothly.

Crichel Down Debate

ON July 20 the House of Commons debated the Crichel Down affair, and Sir Thomas Dugdale announced his resignation at the end of his opening speech. We would not deny that he was right to resign, but we are not satisfied with the reason that he gave for his resignation. The Clark Report had exposed bureaucracy in all its ugliness and incompetence, and it had also brought to light the startling fact that after two and a half years of Conservative Government the official attitude towards requisitioned land and private landowners was still virtually unchanged. For this the Minister of Agriculture was bound to accept responsibility, and we feel it was a sufficient reason for him to give up his office. He deserves high praise for the good work which he has done in other ways, but it is evident that he was not equal to the task of dismantling the apparatus of Socialism.

Unfortunately, he preferred to offer himself as a scapegoat for the bureaucrats and he insisted that he had not been misled by them in reaching his decision about Crichel Down, though the Clark Report seemed to indicate the contrary. It was no doubt this which prompted Sir Winston to say that Sir Thomas's action was "chivalrous in a high degree." So it was, but we believe that chivalry on this occasion was misplaced.

Bureaucrats Unpunished

THE principle is widely accepted that our Civil Service should be immune from the slings and arrows of political controversy; that it should be free to carry out the policy of the Government of the day without being itself answerable for that policy to Parliament or the public. But it is also, or should be, a disciplined service, in which those who act wrongly or mistakenly within their appointed spheres should be subject to penalties varying in severity according to the seriousness of the faults committed.

In the Crichel Down case at least five Civil Servants appear, on the evidence, to have acted in such a way as to deserve punishment. Yet what has happened? A committee was set up to enquire into the matter, and advised that one of the five offenders should be transferred to another post, while no action of any kind should be taken against the other four. It is surely most unjust that Sir Thomas Dugdale should suffer, not for his own failure to loosen the State's stranglehold over property, but for the unwarrantable behaviour of a few pestilent jacks-in-office, who are still free to afflict the public with their well-paid services.

Fortress Still Unstormed

A PART from that, the Crichel Down sensation has already produced some good effects. Sir Thomas announced (would that he had announced it sooner!) that all requisitioned farmland not urgently needed by the Government for some definite public purpose would be sold as soon as possible, and that former owners or their heirs would be given a special opportunity to buy it back if they so wished. He also said that Lieutenant-Commander Marten and his wife would now be given the chance to buy back their part of Crichel Down; but, since they would be obliged to do so subject to the existing tenancy and the obligation to equip the land on the extravagant scale agreed to by Crown Lands, the offer is not likely to be very tempting and has already, we understand, been refused.

The Martens must therefore be content with the knowledge that they have struck the most damaging blow any private individuals have yet been able to strike against the smug fortress of bureaucracy. But that fortress is still unstormed, and there may have to be other "Crichel Downs" before its walls finally crumble and the garrison surrenders. Instances of official perversity abound, and all that is now needed is a concentrated effort by those who value freedom to set themselves and the nation free.

Chatsworth and the Nation

BY a combination of bad luck and the present iniquitous system of taxation, it will be necessary for the vast sum of £2,400,000 to be paid in death duty on the late Duke of Devonshire's estate. This means that Chatsworth, one of the finest houses in England, will probably be wrested from the family which built it, and that the magnificent collection of pictures, furniture and books which it contains has been threatened with dispersal.

It is possible to refer to the latter threat in the past tense, because even Socialists have been showing anxiety lest the contents of Chatsworth be lost to the nation, and the Treasury is now considering ways and means of satisfying its own voracity while preserving Chatsworth as what Civil Servants might call (in Crichel Down language) a "single unit." The result of these negotiations is all too likely to be that yet another private house will become a public museum, or (as our cartoonist has bitterly put it) "National Lust Property."

Cut Flowers

TO a modern collectivist it may appear that the value of Chatsworth as a national asset can be maintained independently of its association with the Cavendish family. So long as the house is kept in good repair



Chatsworth—National Lust Property.

and the rooms are swept—so long as the pictures are left hanging on the walls and all the other appurtenances of civilized life remain in their places, for the public to look at—why worry about the life itself, the civilized life which created and gave meaning to this beauty, now to be frozen in a death-like trance?

The answer should be clear enough to anyone who can feel as well as reason. Objects in a private house are in their natural element, because most pictures, and nearly all books and furniture were intended to belong to individuals and to adorn, assist and edify the life of a household or family. They are like flowers growing in a garden, rooted in their own soil and breathing their own atmosphere. But objects in a museum are like cut flowers, removed from their original surroundings or divorced from their original function. They can exist for a space and give considerable pleasure, but the quality of life is ebbing from them. And the analogy can be carried further. There must always be more flowers growing in gardens than wilting in vases, or the supply of flowers will soon give out. So with works of art. If the State persists in "nationalizing" places like Chatsworth, and if it deliberately prevents the forming and bequeathing of great private collections, it will soon defeat its own ends, for the creative spirit in our nation will visibly weaken and before long die.

Private Ownership Vital

WE are convinced to the point of fanaticism that Chatsworth should remain, what it has always been, the Duke of Devonshire's home. Needless to say, it should be open to the public on frequent occasions; but the fact that it has been so for some time proves that this is not incompatible with private ownership. The essential is that a Conservative Government should have the courage to repeal the punitive and destructive taxes which, not for the benefit of the people, not in the interest of a sound economy, but simply out of deference to a slavish theory of equality, are depriving our country of traditional institutions which the whole world has envied and admired.

When a holiday crowd visits some great house which is open to the public, it has repeatedly been observed that the main source of interest is human rather than artistic. In which rooms do the owner and his wife and family live? Where do they sit in the evenings? Where do they sleep? What sort of books and papers are lying around? Above all, where are the owners? Can they be seen and talked to?

It is easy to dismiss this as snobbishness or Philistinism, and so in a sense it is. But it also reflects a wisdom and humanity which are unknown to Socialist planners, and it emphasizes that a house, however large, should belong to someone and that the personal element should not be destroyed. This is true enough from the strictly æsthetic point of view, but how much more true when all the other factors are taken into account—when we consider the local and national usefulness of a family like the Cavendishes. If they should fall by their own folly, there would be no cause for lament; but that they should fall through the folly of their compatriots, obsessed by false notions, is lamentable indeed.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

WITH

THE HON. R. S. GARFIELD TODD

Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia

MR. GARFIELD TODD, by *origin a New Zealander, and now Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia after only twenty years' residence in that country, was recently paying his first visit to England. On July 9 the Associate Editor of The National and English Review went to see him at the Hyde Park Hotel. In the course of conversation Mr. Todd answered a number of specific questions, and kindly gave his permission that these questions and his own spontaneous replies (given below) should be published in the form of an exclusive interview.*

Q. Do you consider that the racial policy of your country differs fundamentally from that of the Union of South Africa? If so, in what respects?

A. In the Union they are spending a lot of money on the natives, but between them and us there is this fundamental difference. The policy of their Government is that however far a black man may progress he can never enjoy equal rights with the white man—simply because he is black. On the other hand, we in Southern Rhodesia say that there should be no colour bar in politics. Our standard, to which all citizens must conform, is one not of colour but of civilization.

Q. Are you satisfied with the rate of British immigration as compared with that of other races, especially Africans?

A. Immigration into our country is worked on a system of quotas.

Each month the Union of South Africa fills its quota, and so do foreign countries, but the United Kingdom's quota is not regularly filled.

Q. Do you consider that in the course of, say, the next ten to fifteen years a substantial number of black Southern Rhodesians will have qualified for the vote?

A. Next year a Royal Commission or Select Committee will be set up to go into the whole question of the franchise, with a view to ensuring that the government of the country will remain in the hands of civilized people. As a result of this enquiry the methods of qualifying for the vote may be changed, because at the moment these are not altogether satisfactory. Some people are on the register who do not deserve a vote, and others who deserve a vote are not on the register. This fault in the system may get worse unless there are some changes, but I am confident that, whatever happens, the number of black voters will steadily increase.

Q. Do you feel that black Southern Rhodesians have as good a chance of bettering themselves economically as their white compatriots—apart from any natural disparities that there may be?

A. No, not at the moment. There is a tremendous desire for education and advancement among the black population, but these benefits have to be paid for and it must be remembered that there are only 10,000

tax-payers in the country. This means that an undue burden is being placed upon the Europeans. The Africans' desire for education has outstripped their power to generate wealth. Many of them are still only prepared to work for a month or two in the year. If they are to rise in the scale of civilization, they must become more productive.

There is also, I admit, the problem of the industrial colour bar. This is by no means universal in its effect. In many fields of work—for instance, motor transport, building and agriculture—the African is free to progress, and rates of pay are improving. But definite apprenticeships and technical training are not yet available to the African. This is a problem which will have to be tackled, and we must look to the European trade unions to assist us in our efforts.

Q. Do you know any black Southern Rhodesians who are now fitted to occupy high positions in the country?

A. Mr. Hove and Mr. Savanhu are Members of the Federal Parliament. A number of Africans have degrees, but not very many. Within the next couple of years the Central African University will be functioning, and entry to it will be on the basis of merit, regardless of colour.

Q. What are your views on intermarriage, either now or in the future, between black and white?

A. With very rare exceptions, intermarriage is not desired, and would be opposed, by both black and white. No good can come of it. But this is not primarily a colour question. The real objection to intermarriage lies in the profound difference in background between one race and another—an objection which to

some extent applies in every part of the world (and not least, perhaps, in Europe). But there are also, as between black and white, certain physical differences which one cannot ignore.

Q. Are you confident that the Central African Federation will succeed? In particular, are you happy about the present division of powers as between the States, the Federation, and the United Kingdom?

A. I have great confidence in the political future of Central Africa, but I am hoping that the present federal system of government will give way to a unitary system. The latter would obviously be far more efficient and economical than one in which four Governments are involved—with three Governors and a Governor-General.

The federal Constitution was adopted because the black population in the North felt suspicious of Southern Rhodesia. That suspicion must be overcome, and I am convinced that it will be overcome in the natural course of events, as we continue to work out our chosen policy.

Q. Would you agree that Central Africa has immense economic potentialities, and do you think that it can exist for ever without its own outlet to the sea?

A. Central Africa has enormous mineral and power resources, and vast areas for food production when sufficient water is available. In the next twenty years the population is likely to double itself—to rise from 7 to 14 millions. Then it will probably have reached the limit, because as native standards improve the birth-rate will tend to decline.

Our present outlets to the sea are at Beira and Lourenço Marques, which of course are in Portuguese

territory. This is not a serious disadvantage, because the Portuguese give us very full co-operation. There is a railway line to Beira and a new line is now being built, through Bannockburn, to Lourenço Marques. In addition to these, I

should one day very much like to see an outlet to the West.

Q. What are your views on the future of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland?

A. No comment.

COLOUR BAR *VERSUS* THE CONSTITUTION

By GEORGE CURRY

ON May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court delivered a unanimous opinion that segregation of races in the tax-supported educational system, which serves the vast majority of young Americans irrespective of social or financial status, was contrary to the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment, adopted after the Civil War, when zealous efforts were being made to ensure equal rights for the newly freed Negro, declares that no State of the Union shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." In recent years a number of negro litigants have gained admission to white Southern universities by invoking this "equal protection" clause in the courts. But in the public schools systems of seventeen States, and of the District of Columbia, seat of the nation's capital, segregation was required by law, and four other States have long permitted it.

Advocates of racial integration, who regard segregated schools as major bulwarks of white supremacy, and in particular the National Association for

the Advancement of Coloured People, have hailed the Supreme Court's interpretation as just, wise and overdue. Similar views have been expressed by those who feel the United States' world position is undermined by the practice which the Court condemns. Many such observers are unfamiliar with the history and politics of the areas most affected. In these areas a majority of the white citizenry, politically dominant and contributing most of the tax revenues, strongly holds that present arrangements are essential to the peaceful progress of both races. The legislatures of certain States concerned will bow to the Court's decree without protest. Most will continue to resist what they regard as a violation of State sovereignty, and of common sense.

Pending the hearing of further arguments, the Court has not yet ruled on the important question of how integration is to be enforced. Unless, as in the border State of Maryland and in the District of Columbia, there are voluntary movements to abolish segregation, the Southern public schools will re-open this September with few dis-

cernible changes. All over the South officials of State governments and legislative committees are exchanging ideas on ways to maintain their present systems. After describing to a visiting group of South Carolina legislators a new "attendance centre" law which will assign pupils to specific schools for a variety of non-racial reasons (while nevertheless effectively segregating them), Mississippi's Attorney-General recently remarked: "As they (the U.S. Supreme Court) strike down a statute we propose to erect another."

In general, white resistance is in ratio to the percentage of negroes in the population. Tennessee and Kentucky, for example, with a relatively small proportion of negroes, may be expected to meet the Court half-way. But in Mississippi over 48 per cent. of the school population is coloured; in South Carolina, nearly 43 per cent. Figures for Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia are about 38, 35 and 32 per cent. respectively. Moreover, within the States, percentages run much higher in rural areas. Virginia has a number of counties in which negro children outnumber whites by two to one. In the agricultural county of Clarendon, South Carolina, where one of the five N.A.A.C.P. suits which resulted in the present Court ruling originated, white children are only one in four, and in the school district directly concerned the figure is nine coloured to one white.

A further examination of conditions in South Carolina will illustrate some of the factors which proponents and opponents of segregation have in mind. In area this State is the size of Scotland, with a population of about 2,100,000, forty per cent. of which is negro. In twenty-four of its forty-six counties coloured citizens predominate, with the highest proportion in rural sections. South Carolina is the birthplace of Calhoun, whose "nulli-

fication" theory of the 1840's opposed federal legislation which a State felt to be contrary to its rights; and of Charleston and Fort Sumter, where in 1861 the opening shots of a struggle "for Southern liberation" were fired. The Civil War and its aftermath may almost be said to be current history here. Seldom is the burning of the State capital, Columbia, forgotten; or the occupation by federal troops; or the State's exploitation during "reconstruction" by unscrupulous elements both Northern and local—"carpet-baggers" and "scalawags"—who manipulated to their personal advantage the newly enfranchised negroes and the bi-racial legislatures. Perhaps the reconstruction period was not as prolonged or disastrous as is popularly supposed. But since the South Carolina whites recovered political power they have feared and resented outside interference with their social pattern. Segregation in education and in other fields is regarded as vitally necessary to their way of life. Mixing white and coloured school-children in the proportions existing in Clarendon county would require a total revolution of basic attitudes. Nor, indeed, would integration be simple in a prosperous industrial county such as Greenville, where, exceptionally, the ratio of white to coloured is the reverse of Clarendon's.

One of the weaknesses of the State's defence before the Supreme Court of its dual school system was that, as in other Southern States, only in recent years has a real effort been made to make negro facilities equal to white. The South was long impoverished, with never enough money to finance various social services, including education, and it was perhaps inevitable that in a dual system negro schools should get less than white. In any case many whites then believed

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that negroes needed only the bare rudiments of literacy. As late as 1933, more than 200 Southern counties lacked even a single high school for negroes. Until 1940 expenditures for negro schools averaged only 43 per cent. of the total for whites, in South Carolina 30 per cent.

Changes have come with the striking revival of Southern prosperity within the past decade and the virtual transformation of much of the region from widespread poverty to economic boom. Tax money became available in unprecedented amounts and the negro in the South, as elsewhere in the U.S., began to share in the general economic progress. Negro organizations, stronger of course outside the South, assisted by funds from white supporters and aided by the political manoeuvrings of both major parties, began to intensify their attacks on all forms of discrimination. The traditional Southern pattern was their priority target. Southern attitudes were already changing, at times perhaps under external pressure, but often as not because the mind of the South itself was changing. Without altering the basic position that segregation was right, white leadership in the South turned to the problem of equalizing opportunities in educational and other spheres.

Governor Byrnes of South Carolina, the former Supreme Court Justice and Secretary of State, put his great personal prestige in his home State behind this effort. Bond issues and the imposition of a three per cent. general sales tax have raised large revenues to give negroes new school buildings (better now in some places than the white), more text books, better qualified and better paid teachers. In the last four years, of the one billion dollars spent on the public schools of South Carolina, 60 per cent. has gone directly into negro schooling. Critics

of the Byrnes programme point out that the gap is still substantial, that it will take many years and many more millions of dollars to close it. They do not, however, say how the majority of citizens of South Carolina, or of any other State, can be compelled to tax themselves for the support of an educational system not of their own choosing. Byrnes himself feels that all efforts to reach honest equalization must be continued, but that there the line must be drawn. Education should remain basically a State function, under State control. His successor, elected to fill the Governor's chair in the fall, has promised the voters to maintain a segregated system of education, while proposing that some mixed schools might be opened to which parents might voluntarily send their children. The fiscal and practical difficulties of such a compromise are many.

Some of the complexities of the present situation may be judged by the reaction of two particular groups in South Carolina. The negro school-teachers are hardly in favour of integration. Seven thousand are now employed to serve a coloured population of three-quarters of a million, more than the total number teaching in the thirty-one "non-segregated" States, with their total of ten million negroes. If segregation goes it is unlikely that coloured teachers could compete with white for employment. Another anxious group is that of the professional educators who have been fighting hard to raise the State's general level of education. They fear the effect of mixing coloured pupils, who are in the main two or three years behind the whites, with their corresponding age-groups. They feel that too rapid an integration, even if allowed by the State legislature, would retard educational progress as well as produce social frictions.

The avowed goal of the N.A.A.C.P. is to end segregation in all forms by 1963, the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Addressing a recent convention of the organization, President Eisenhower described the Supreme Court decision as a "milestone of social advance" and as evidence of the "social and

political maturity of our people." At the same time the Chief Executive cautioned the delegates to have patience and an understanding of the "differences of opinion which actually exist." This is fair comment. Integration is a complex business, and will certainly encounter its full measure of resistance. GEORGE CURRY.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM

By J. ENOCH POWELL

ALMOST every sovereign government uses subordinate governments for part of its work, and these subordinate governments, being locally elected, are local governments. It seems queer to say it, but Genghis Khan and the Mogul emperors had local government no less than modern democratic France or America.

Whatever the appearances, this local government is always a devolution of sovereignty by the central government, because it would not exist unless the central government created or tolerated it. For example, there is no borough charter which Parliament cannot take away, and the United States can alter the powers of the States by an alteration (in due form) of the Constitution. One of the types of local government is, indeed, a federal or confederal Constitution: whether the "original" sovereignty is supposed to reside in the components or the union, and whether the components or the union possesses the residual powers, the functions of government exercised by the components are in fact always a form of local government.

Though this form of local government is normal in the British Commonwealth overseas—Canada, Australia,

South Africa and India all have it—it has never intentionally been adopted in the mother-country. The strength and jealousy of the Parliament at Westminster has always posed the alternatives of complete union or complete separation.

In the formation of the United Kingdom, Wales and then Scotland were united with England and represented in the unitary Parliament. Ireland was never a component state. At first the Irish Parliament was entirely subordinate to the English; later, as the alternative to separation, Ireland was embodied in the United Kingdom and given representation in its Parliament. Where union was impossible, the mother-country went in for separation, for which "dominion status" is only a euphemism. The movement at the end of the nineteenth century for a federal Empire never had the ghost of a chance, any more than a federal United Kingdom.

Even if the dominions had then been willing to consider it, the fatal obstacle to a federal Constitution was the inevitable corollary that the Parliament at Westminster would become a local parliament for England, degraded and superseded by a new federal Parliament

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for the United Kingdom or for the Empire: she was too old and she was too great to submit to such an operation. The anomaly of the twelve Northern Irish M.Ps. since 1922, who vote at Westminster on the domestic affairs of Great Britain as well as on the Imperial affairs of the United Kingdom, has nothing to do with federation; it is simply an anomaly, arising from an historical expedient and tolerated only because it is trivial. If there were a hundred or more such members, as there would be if the same method were applied to Wales and Scotland, England would never for a moment accept its domestic affairs being regulated by the votes of "foreigners."

Britain's local government has always been on a smaller scale than the local government implicit in federation, and of a different type. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the executive devolved its powers in three ways: the Crown gave charters of self-government to boroughs; authority was exercised by the King's representatives in the shires (the justices and the lieutenants); and the parishes administered the Poor Law and such other relics of the mediæval church as highways and bridges. The self-government of the boroughs and the parishes was in a very limited and irregular sense elective; and the new local government bodies which the nineteenth century established for special purposes—the Unions and sanitary districts, the drainage, sewerage, paving and lighting authorities, improvement commissioners, etc., etc.—were by a natural analogy with the parishes and boroughs made directly or indirectly elective also.

Only when the majority of the devolved functions were concentrated upon the county councils and district councils in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century did elective local government as we know it to-day come

into existence. The idea that our local government in Britain is earlier than central government, or is an inheritance from Saxon times, is a foolish myth. It is in fact of very recent origin and, outside the boroughs, has no historical roots to speak of.

Its existence has been not only short but somewhat unhappy. For a quarter of a century or more the course of legislation has been to take functions away from local authorities and confer them either on the central government or on specialized agencies (such as the National Assistance Board or the British Electricity Authority). For at least ten years now all the pundits have been saying that our system of local government must be reformed or perish. Recently, what with a statutory Commission and reports from the various associations of local authorities, the volume of lament has been rising in a crescendo, until on March 18 this year Mr. Macmillan stated that before the beginning of 1955 "the Government will either have informed the House that they cannot introduce a measure" of local government reorganization, "or they will have announced in broad outline what their proposals are." Though the Minister expressed himself as "hopeful that the prize of doing this great job—and it is a great prize—may well be within our grasp," I should have thought myself that the odds were against. However that may be, it is still worth setting out the main considerations one way or the other.

The first consideration is: would the game be worth the candle? The reason why governments devolve powers is for the sake of efficiency, because delegation saves time and money and improves the quality of administration. Efficiency is the test by which our elective local government system ought to be judged, no less than any other.

Some people have got local government mixed up with individual freedom, true democracy and all that; but if the differences to which they appeal between local and central administration be examined, the issue will be found still to hinge upon efficiency. Administration which is adapted to local conditions is more efficient than administration which applies the same rules irrespective; and if elective local government secures the former, it is justified by the greater efficiency. Decisions for which a local body is responsible can be (though they are not necessarily) taken more promptly than those which must be referred to a central authority; and if so, the result again is a greater efficiency. Nor is there anything specially democratic about the ratepayers electing those who spend the rates. If the rates were not spent by local councils, they would be spent by Parliament, which equally represents the ratepayers. One might as well argue on democratic grounds for representatives of the tobacco-smokers and the beer-drinkers to spend the revenue from excise.

This contrast between the ratepayer and the beer-drinker leads straight to a definition of the particular form of local government which we have in this country. In theory it is the administration of an "assigned" tax by the representatives of those who pay it. A tax levied on the occupiers of property in proportion to the annual value of that property has been "assigned" to the maintenance of certain services, notably of the public utilities and of the social services which have grown out of the Poor Law. The administration of these services is in the control of bodies elected by those who pay that tax; in other words, the ratepayers. The result should be a closer attention to economy and good finance, a better adaptation to local circumstances, and a more

prompt decision on a thousand and one points of detail than could have been achieved by any other means.

Such is the theory; but the imperfections of its application in practice have caused the present *impasse* in local government. The imperfections are as follows: (1) The cost of the services administered by local authorities has risen much faster than the revenue from rates. Therefore some services have been transferred to the charge of other taxes and removed from local administration, while others are subsidized out of general taxation by the national Exchequer. (2) The services are now required to reach a uniform standard throughout the country. On the other hand, the revenue from rates is relatively high in some places and low in others. Hence various forms of equalization, whereby a larger subsidy is paid by the Exchequer to one authority than to another, or the product of rates in one area is carried to the assistance of rates in another area. (3) Some of the services cannot be effectively administered except in relation to larger populations or larger areas than most of the existing local authorities comprise. (4) The local authorities are no longer the representatives of the ratepayers as such but of the electorate at large.

Thus the theory of local government in Great Britain has no longer much in common with the reality. In the current financial year the general taxpayer pays over £600 millions towards the cost of the services still administered by local government in Great Britain. The ratepayers' share is about £425 millions. This expenditure of just over £1,000 millions, which represents much less than half the cost of the social services, is administered, in England and Wales alone, by 63 county councils, 83 county borough councils and 1,385 district councils, not to mention parish

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councils and parish meetings! One may well ask what manner of efficiency this kind of decentralization is calculated to produce.

But let us examine this formidable list of defects and see if there are any practicable remedies to which they are likely to yield. First of all, the inadequacy of revenue from rates. Everyone assumes that rates are now inadequate to maintain the social services because the latter are now so much more costly. In fact this is not the case. The fraction of total revenue spent on the social services is not appreciably greater to-day than before the Second World War, though of course the proportion of the national income taken by the State as revenue has increased by more than half. Why is it, then, that rates have become hopelessly inadequate, despite the fact that one element of the social services, the hospitals, has been transferred to the central government? The answer is that rateable value has not, like other bases of taxation, adjusted itself to the fall in the value of money and the increase in the national income. If people were assessed for income tax on their 1934 incomes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be very disappointed with the yield. Yet that is a favourable picture of the position of local authorities levying rates. Even in 1934, when the last general revaluation for rates was made, annual values, and consequently the capacities for their occupiers to pay, were grossly undervalued—for two reasons which still apply.

During the forty years since rents have been falsified by rent restriction, no one has ever dared to assess dwelling-houses at their true annual value. Even the present government has not ventured to base the new valuation on values later than those of 1939. Dwelling-houses, or rather their occupiers, are therefore under-assessed for rates

by something like a half to two-thirds. Industry is in an even more favourable position: agriculture pays no rates at all, and other productive industry is under-assessed (technically "de-rated") by three-quarters. One effect of this situation is that the rate burden is redistributed as between different classes of ratepayers; but here we are concerned with another effect, namely, that the capacity of the citizen to pay as a ratepayer is grossly under-estimated compared with his capacity to pay as a taxpayer.

Of course this could be remedied if anyone dared. It would be perfectly possible to revalue properties for rating at their true current annual value, and then, at the moment when the new valuation lists came into force, reduce proportionately the Exchequer's share of the cost of local services. Thus indeed the revenue raised by local authorities would meet the giant's share of the cost of the services they administer. Unfortunately, it is not practical politics. The electors would be infuriated by the steep increase of their rates and would not be correspondingly grateful for the relief in taxation. Industry would not offset against its increased overheads in rates the increase in its net profits after taxation. (Probably, anyhow, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take the opportunity not to remit quite so much taxation as was collected in extra rates.) Finally, it would be argued that the increase of a tax based on an essential article of consumption, namely house-room, and one which bulks largest in the budgets of the poorest, would be undesirable in its social consequences.

It is sometimes suggested that local government should be given an entirely new additional source of revenue. This could either be done by the invention of a new tax altogether or by the trans-

fer to local government of the proceeds of an existing tax. What the advocates of such a course fail to notice is that, in order to achieve the purpose, it would be necessary for the new or the transferred tax to vary locally like rates in the pound. A moment's reflection will show the impracticability of collecting, for example, a local income tax or a local tobacco-duty at a different rate in each rating authority's area. If this is not a sufficient deterrent, there remains the fact that the yield of a rate is known in advance, whereas the yield of a tax can only be guessed.

It looks therefore as though any dramatic broadening of the financial basis of local government has to be abandoned as impracticable. We may console ourselves with the reflection that such an increase would intensify another of the problems, because it would magnify the inequality of resources between one local government area and another. At the moment the Exchequer money used to reduce these inequalities only amounts to some £80 millions per annum. The sum is so relatively small only because such large grants are paid for individual local government services. Were those separate grants reduced or eliminated, the inequalities would become far more glaring.

Of course, the fact of inequality in resources only matters insofar as public opinion demands equality of standards. If we were prepared to have low standards in the areas with low rateable value per head of population, whether these were rural (like the Welsh counties) or urban (like the East End boroughs), the inequalities of rate revenue would not matter. Perhaps one could make a good case for a variation in standard in many local government services—minor roads, drainage, even public health, perhaps, or housing; but no one would propose or tolerate

it for an instant in education, which accounts for well over one-third of the cost of all local government services. Can we then cut the knot by taking education out of local government altogether? It would go a long way to solve the problems of local government; but it would also go a long way to remove the argument for local government at all. In no field are the effects of local application, local control of detail and close financial scrutiny more called for than in education; and politically, the proposal of a national education service would probably be about the shortest way to starting a revolution.

Once again therefore we recoil defeated: the inequality of financial resources seems to be unavoidable. It is unlikely to be affected by any practicable redrawing of boundaries. However much we amalgamate or vary local government areas, the rural counties remain sparsely populated and of low rateable value, the residential areas remain residential, and the industrial remain industrial. This is not to say that there are not other and sufficient grounds for a far-reaching alteration of areas. No one can study the local authority map, the main outlines of which are sixty years old this year, without condemning it as in many respects irrational and obsolete. What excuse can there be for the County of London being divided into twenty-eight boroughs, of which the smallest has one-fifteenth of the population of the largest? Or take the old industrial area of South Staffordshire: can one really defend the patchwork quilt of small boroughs and urban districts which straggle between the county borough of Wolverhampton and the City of Birmingham? Scope for creating new and larger units also exists outside areas continuously built-up, but of course to a much less extent.

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Such a process of consolidation would, where it is possible, deal with at least some of the current weaknesses of local government. The new areas and populations would be large enough for the administration of all or nearly all local government services. The main exception is probably town and country planning, for which the use of joint authorities is not impracticable. Otherwise a single authority could both collect the rates and administer all the services financed wholly or partly out of rate revenue. The reduction in the total number of local authorities and the enhancement of the functions of many of them should promote administrative economy and efficiency, not least because it would be possible to demand and obtain a higher standard of local government servant and local councillor. It is absurd to pretend that this creation of larger "all-purpose" authorities could apply throughout the country. The two-tier system of counties and county districts is inevitable where the population is widely dispersed. But it is equally absurd, because we shall always need a Montgomeryshire and a Lancashire, to insist on preserving a Middlesex or an urban Essex.

This spirit of "all-or-nothing" is always bad politics (bad British politics at any rate), and would be fatal in approaching local government reform. Of the major imperfections of the present system, we have found that three—the insufficiency and the inequality of rate revenue, and the substitution of a universal for a ratepayer franchise (which I have not even troubled to argue)—are virtually irremediable in any foreseeable circumstances. The fourth—inadequacies of area and of population—is only partly remediable in part of the country. There is a temptation in these circumstances to throw up one's hands and either do

nothing or advocate scrapping the whole system. The right course, I believe, is to apply the admittedly partial remedies as and where possible, and then to wait and see.

Accordingly, if I were the Minister of Housing and Local Government, and were sure of the necessary support and Parliamentary time to carry through a measure of local government reform—both somewhat large assumptions—my main concern would be to create, wherever I could in London and the provinces, areas in which a single authority could exercise all functions of local government up to and including those of an education authority, but not necessarily including those of a planning authority. I should endeavour to persuade my colleague the Minister of Health that if these authorities were large enough to look after housing, education and public health, they were also large enough to be responsible in their respective areas for the remainder of the National Health Service, even if that meant a redistribution of Exchequer subsidy to enable part of the cost of that service as a whole to be borne upon the rates.

These new local authorities, no less than the already existing county boroughs, I should expect to see attract to themselves a high standard of local government official. In many ways the local government official is a stronger argument for local government than the local councillor; for whereas it is rare to find local councillors of the average quality of Members of Parliament or committee chairmen equivalent even to the less competent of Ministers, the average run of local government officers are at least the equal of the departmental civil servants. Trained from an early stage in their careers to accept considerable responsibility, and accustomed to lead and encourage rather than to follow and

assist their political masters, they combine as a class administrative efficiency with independence of mind and breadth of outlook. I should, however, be disappointed if a wider and better selection of councillors were not attracted into local government, and it would be one of my considerations in deciding upon the size of areas to ensure that as far as possible the councils' work could be done in the late afternoon and evening, when all

classes of the population, however employed, are able to participate.

This done I should feel that I had made no more change than was necessary and no less than was possible; and I should hope that in ten years' time a successor would survey the results of my reform and consider what further could then be done to bring the theory and the practice of English local government into accord.

J. ENOCH POWELL.

RIDDLE OF THE NEW CHINA

By DESMOND DONNELLY

THE Geneva Conference will always be remembered because of Communist China's emergence as a World Power. So far rejected by the United Nations and opposed by the U.S.A., nevertheless it is a fact that the delegation from Peking, from the first, played a leading role in the Conference.

How stable is the new society which they represent? Is there any chance, as some Americans seem to believe, of a successful counter-revolution by Chiang Kai-shek? What are China's relations with Soviet Russia? Is she an equal or a satellite? Is this the appearance of a really significant force in international politics? Or will China once again turn out to be a clay-footed colossus? These are the sort of questions that come to mind at once. On the answers to them may depend the course of history. Some of the answers can only be found in the background to the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party was founded in China in 1921, and almost simultaneously in France among Chinese students in Paris. The first

leader, Ch'en Tu'hsiu, was a well-known man of letters and a professor at the Peking National University. Among the founders were Mao Tse-tung, then a library assistant at the Peking National University; and in the Paris group, Chou En-lai, the present Prime Minister. Chu Teh, a much older man who had already been a war-lord and came from the ultra-conservative land-lord class of Szechuan, had renounced his military career, abandoned his opium smoking, and gone abroad. In Germany he, too, became a Communist.

It is significant that none of these foundation members (and later leaders) were Russian-trained Communists. Nevertheless, after 1917, the Chinese republican revolution which had overthrown the Manchu Dynasty in 1912, was to come partly under the spell of the Russian. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, urged his followers to guard the friendship between the two revolutions, which was formally acknowledged in an agreement in 1923 between Dr. Sun and the Soviet envoy, Joffe. This declaration by both Sun and Joffe,

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while recognizing that Communism was not suitable for China, included a statement by Sun, on behalf of his party, accepting the aid of Russia and the alliance of the still young Chinese Communist Party.

The Kuomintang was then reorganized on the lines of the Russian Communist Party, with political commissars, strict discipline and mass propaganda. After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, Stalin even sent the following message to the Kuomintang: "The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party believes that the Kuomintang will keep high the banner of Sun Yat-sen in the great struggle of liberation from imperialism and that the Kuomintang will honourably carry that banner to the full victory over imperialism, and its agents in China." Russian military advisers went to assist General Chiang Kai-shek in his operations against the war-lords. The Chinese Communist Party was instructed by Moscow to join the Kuomintang as one of the "bloc of four classes"; and the Kuomintang itself was represented at the Executive of the Comintern with the rights of an associate member.

Stalin's alliance with Chiang Kai-shek was vigorously denounced by Trotsky, whose personal opposition expedited the final split between him and Stalin. At the same time, the growth of Chinese Communism, moderate though its policies had been, frightened Chiang Kai-shek and the leaders of the middle classes. Chiang abruptly decided to rid himself of his embarrassing allies. In a brief period of terror in 1927 he cruelly suppressed the Communists' leaders who had served under him, executing many of them. Others went into hiding, others still escaped with Borodin, the Soviet adviser, in an old Ford car, laden with petrol cans, across the Gobi Desert into Russia.

For a period, both Stalin's prestige in Russia, and that of the Communist Party in China, were severely shaken. Even an attempt to establish a Liberal-Communist coalition Government at Hankow, opposed to Chiang Kai-shek, soon failed. Almost the only serious resistance was at Nanchang, where elements of the Fourth Army commanded by Chu Teh rebelled to form the nucleus of the future Red Army—an event which later turned out to be of great significance.

Thus ended a phase in Chinese revolutionary history; the phase of alliance between the peasants, and the intellectuals and middle classes. The latter turned more directly to nationalism and the former, temporarily, to apathy. The Russian advisers had been taken by surprise and proved wrong. Their doctrine that for China it had to be a "Bourgeois Revolution," because there was no industrial proletariat, had collapsed. The intellectuals had rejected Communism and the teeming millions of peasants that made up the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people were not considered the material from which Communist revolutions are made. "The pack horse of civilization" was how Trotsky had described the peasants of Russia, and it is not surprising that the Soviet leaders had the same attitude towards the Chinese peasants, about whom they knew little or nothing.

In the meanwhile Chu Teh and his small Red Army, after many vicissitudes, had fallen back on the mountain stronghold of Chingkangshan, where they met Mao Tse-tung, a refugee from the fallen Hankow Government. This famous meeting has already become part of the legend of Communist China; and it was to be the beginning of a new type of Communist society. Mao, himself the indigenous product of the Chinese village (being the son

of a rich peasant), understood the heart and mind of rural China. Chu Teh and he, cut off from all contact with Moscow, established a new doctrine, quite opposite to the orthodox beliefs of Marxist-Leninism and its accepted revolutionary theory. They based it on the peasants, with land reform as the main plank, guerrilla war as its defence, and the avoidance of cities as the strategy.

The decision to base the movement on land reform is the key both to the success and to the stability of the régime. Prior to land reform the average holding of the Chinese peasant was one-ninth of an acre. On that minute area of land a man depended for his foothold on life. The vicissitudes of nature, such as flood or drought, meant that the foothold became often too narrow for millions at a time. And side by side with the poverty-stricken peasants dwelt landlords, with relatively great possessions and almost feudal powers of life and death. It was natural that an attack on the landlords, and particularly the confiscation of their land, would rally peasant support.

The effect of taking all the land and dividing it up equally amongst all peasants was to treble the average land holding of the peasants. The results were almost instantaneous and the success quickly apparent. Several attempts were made by the Kuomintang Government, between 1930 and 1934, to destroy the growing influence of the "Kiangsi Soviet," as it came to be called, and its offshoots in Hunan, Hupeh and Kuantung. Often the outer areas were overrun, but every attack on the centre failed, with effects that were damaging to Chiang Kai-shek's prestige.

All the same, the pressure eventually began to tell, and the Communists, who had also made several errors of stra-

tegy, saved themselves by the famous Long March. They broke out of their blockaded area and marched to the farthest frontiers of China. They passed through the backward provinces of Kueichou and Yunnan. They crossed the upper Yang-Tze in its wild gorges, skirting the edge of Tibet. Finally they descended through Kansu into the northern part of Shensi province, a backward remote area, adjoining the steppes of Mongolia. There they were in a position to profit from the pending invasion by Japan, and to emerge as the champions of Chinese nationalism, with the slogan "Chinese do not fight Chinese."

During the years when the Japanese occupied large areas of China, the Communists waged a war, successful at times, and, on occasion, considerably more successful than that of Chiang Kai-shek, who expended part of his effort in attacking the Communists. By now he had completely undermined his prestige and alienated the intellectuals by the corruption that surrounded him. When the Japanese war ended, the Communists were thus in a position to advance to the control of the country. In three years they swept to total success. Above all, they were able to promise land reform and a stable currency.

In fulfilling their promise of land reform, however, it must not be forgotten that the creation of a peasant landlord class in Communist China may have raised as many problems as it has solved. The Kulales of of Russia remain a salutary lesson to all Communist Governments!

Currency stabilization was achieved by an ingenious device. Wages, instead of being calculated in *yen*, were established in units—so many per day, according to the nature of the job. Each day the *yen* value of the unit, based on a cost of living index, was published in the

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Press. Thus, at the end of the week the wages were totalled up in *yen*. If prices went up, so did wages. Conversely, if prices fell, wages did also, but always retaining approximately the same purchasing power. Whereas the land reform, now nearly completed, has had the effect of creating about 500 million peasant shareholders with a vested interest in the retention of their land (and thus in the Communist régime) the currency stabilization did more than anything else to win over the intellectuals and middle classes, who were living on fixed incomes. Indeed, revolted by Chiang Kai-shek's corruption and the excesses of his followers, many of whom controlled cities by gangsterdom, reminiscent of Al Capone's hey-day, the intellectuals were to become the most ardent missionaries of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the early stages of the revolutionary movement when it became based on land reform, it is reported that Mao Tse-tung was first deposed from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and later even expelled from the Party. Of this, however, there is no confirmation, and if evidence of it ever existed, it has long been destroyed, for Communism is not anxious to admit its mistakes. Certainly Mao was reinstated when his success became obvious. Nevertheless, even then—in the years immediately before the collapse of the Kuomintang régime—Moscow behaved with exemplary correctness towards Chiang, giving no help or recognition to Mao. It was only when it won power that the Communist régime was recognized; and recognition was turned to friendship in the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1950, which contained financial agreements involving a credit the "equivalent of 300,000,000 U.S. dollars."

It is interesting to note—and this is

a fact not generally known—that this credit was calculated at the artificial rate of exchange insisted on by the Soviet Union, which makes foreigners pay four times the real value of the rouble. Thus, it is possible to gauge the limited effect of the credit, in a country as vast and as backward as China; and also it may be the vital clue to Sino-Soviet relations.

Politically, however, these relations are extremely cordial and close. They could not be otherwise in view of the pressures on China arising from the Korean war and United States policy. Nevertheless, everything points to the fact that the cordiality is of the type that goes with complete equality. From the accounts of those who on other occasions have had dealings with the Peking régime, there is every indication that the Chinese Communists now regard themselves as colleagues to be consulted, and not as satellites to be guided by Moscow. And the negotiations at Geneva more especially bear this out. There Mr. Molotov has at times played something of the same mediator's role on the Communist side that Mr. Eden has been fulfilling amongst the Western delegations. This, in itself, is a fact of profound importance, because it publicly discloses, for the first time, a new relationship in the Communist world.

But is the diplomatic power that has been wielded by China at Geneva supported and warranted by the actual strength of the country? During the war, when China was included as a Great Power on the insistence of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill is reported to have poured scorn on the idea. It is questionable whether that attitude now holds good; or that the British Prime Minister would any longer subscribe to it, although his view was quite right at the time. It is now disclosed, by the

census returns, that China's population is 602 millions—a figure of staggering magnitude. There is no doubt that Communist centralization has given a cohesion and drive to Chinese society that it has previously lacked. In view of the remarkable industrial progress that has been made by Russia in the last thirty years, there is reason to believe that, with much greater manpower and considerable indigenous resources, China may also in a generation go far towards repairing the existing deficiencies.

It is obvious that this is the intention of the Peking Government, who in their quest for capital goods are appearing to be anxious to expand trade with the West. There are also evidences of a new vitality in China, distinct from, yet at the same time not

rejecting, the culture and traditions of an old civilization. The testimonies of those who have been to Peking since the revolution all point to the same conclusion. Perhaps an even more tangible proof that a new China exists is the way in which her forces met, and were not defeated, by the combined efforts of so many Western nations in Korea.

All these are thoughts to be pondered by the leaders of the Western democracies. It is possible that international politics may never be the same again, now that China has emerged as a World Power. It is also possible that because of it Geneva will become the name of a landmark in political history, as well as that of a city.

DESMOND DONNELLY.

FAMILY MISUNDERSTANDINGS

By DENYS SMITH

THERE are some partnerships which cannot survive disputes; others which are so strong that they can take them in their stride. One hopes that Anglo-American relations fall into the second category. When Sir Winston Churchill arrived in Washington last month and compared Anglo-American differences to family quarrels he was performing the useful service of basing the Anglo-American partnership on something stronger than contemporary identity of view. Even the partners in a happy marriage do not always agree. If the wife wants a trip to Europe and the husband a golfing holiday in Scot-

land the marriage would probably be a happier one if each followed their own bent and abandoned prolonged arguments over who should give in to whom or tried to reach a compromise, such as bathing at Bexhill, which would have bored both. The analogy can be pushed too far but it is none the less true that in international as in marital relations different paths can be followed without either side becoming tragic about it and thinking of the divorce courts. So British and American policy may differ on the course to be followed in Indo-China, on the possibility of "peaceful co-existence" with the Russians and on the admission of

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Communist China to the United Nations, but the fundamental unity between the two can remain.

Another attribute of the marital status is that the partners often complain that some of the hopes and thoughts which prevailed before it was entered into have not been fulfilled, while some of the accommodations and curbs on complete freedom of action it entailed have not been realized. So before dealing in detail with three particular causes of family difficulty it would be well to look at a more general cause of the current American mood of uneasiness and disillusion. When the United States was neutral and isolationist everybody abroad deplored its attitude: "If only the United States had been in the League of Nations how different world history would have been!" But why was American League membership so desirable? It was not because the League members wanted a third of the League expenses to be shouldered by the United States. It was because with American membership a more active peace enforcement policy could have been followed and the League would have been better able to maintain peace and international justice. Now America is no longer neutral and isolationist and the complaint against her is that she is too eager and anxious to enforce peace and international justice. It is not surprising that American Congressmen and government officials throw up their hands in despair and wonder what is happening. They are trying to do now what everybody once regretted they did not do, and are receiving coals of fire not pats on the head. The new mutual aid programme was being debated during the Churchill visit and gave an opportunity for an airing of Congressional doubts and fears. The thesis of many speakers

was that the more America had helped the rest of the non-Communist world to be strong enough to resist the Communists, the more those aided seemed to shy away from resisting them. Instead of making nations friendlier, each year's aid programme made them more antagonistic to the United States. "Our present foreign policy has not strengthened us; instead we continue to lose friends day by day. . . . We have to date failed to gain the support of many other countries in our honest effort to maintain unity and peace in the world, irrespective of an expenditure of billions of dollars," said a Southern Democrat, Arthur Winstead of Mississippi, in a typical expression of this view.

Just after the war American leadership was eagerly accepted. The Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Alliance, both due to American initiative, were loudly praised. The help given to Greece in its fight against Communist subversion, the Berlin airlift to counter the Russian blockade, and finally the initial determination to check Communist aggression in Korea, all received support. The turning point came during the Korean campaign when the United States was doing something which nobody would have thought possible in pre-war years and which everybody in those pre-war years was saying was the one thing needed to make the world safe for democracy. American leadership began to be questioned. The experience invited the cynical thought that American leadership was welcome when it involved receiving, but not when it required giving. A more realistic analysis was that American leadership had never really been acknowledged at all, but only tolerated because there was no alternative. At the end of the war the United States

was the only Western country strong enough to possess the capacity for, and assume the burdens of, leadership. The irritating thing about the United States before the War was that, from the safety of the sidelines, it could lay down idealistic policies for others to follow, fortified by the conviction that it would never have to live up to its pronouncements. Its decisions on what ought to be done were never hampered by the thought that it might have to help doing them. The United States could become incensed over the Hoare-Laval plan for partitioning Abyssinia, or could deplore Munich, without any feeling of responsibility for the alternatives. It could organize "Save Czechoslovakia" rallies, secure in the knowledge that someone else was expected to do the saving. To-day the irritating thing about the United States is that it still has the same idealistic approach to world problems even when it has assumed responsibility for them. It deplores the partitioning of Indo-China. It thinks of Munich whenever any effort to reach a compromise with the present aggressor is proposed. It takes international declarations of principle literally and seriously as something which should be quickly and completely attained, not as goals which the world should strive to approach as closely as possible. It regards a target as a something to hit, not just to aim at.

When the British Foreign Secretary, surprised at the furore created by his suggestion of a South-East Asian Locarno, remarked in Washington that he "didn't know Locarno was a dirty word in America," he was forgetting the impatient, uncompromising spirit in which the United States approaches foreign policy matters. To most Americans Locarno probably has no very precise connotation. It is blurred and blended with

futile pre-war efforts to stave off the war through appeasement. It belongs to a discredited past. When Hitler marched into the Rhineland the Locarno Powers did nothing; so by extension Locarno now means that if the Communists invade free areas of South-East Asia they are not repelled, but are guaranteed in whatever they have seized previously. Those who had a more precise idea of what Locarno involved objected equally strongly. A pledge is signed with the Communists to maintain peace within existing borders. In effect, the fruits of Communist aggression are thus assured to them and guaranteed. Such a pact would also imply American *de facto* recognition of the Communist China régime, even if not through formal exchange of Ambassadors. Another major objection was that the United States had pledged itself to do everything possible, by peaceful means, to help subjected peoples regain their freedom. It would enter no pact which appeared to abandon them or which tightened their chains. So Churchill and Eden, arriving in Washington to the echoes of a Locarno proposal, left with a joint statement reassuring States "in bondage" that Britain and America "will not be a party to any arrangement which would confirm or prolong their unwilling subordination." It was not the Republicans only who objected to the application of the Locarno idea to Indo-China. The House Democratic leader, John McCormack, said: "The heart of our President's foreign policy problem is this: How to hold together our alliance with the countries of Western Europe and at the same time to prevent their giving East Asia away; or losing our influence in Asia through being identified in Asian minds with British and French policies. This is a tough one, but we have to do both. . . . I

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resented very much Eden's speech in the Commons."

There is nothing new about this American position on subjugated peoples; it goes back a long way, to the Stimson non-recognition doctrine of 1929. A note addressed to the Japanese Government that year asserted that America "does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement, which may be brought about contrary to the covenant and obligations of the Pact of Paris." The Pact of Paris, usually known as the Kellogg Pact, renounced war as an instrument of national policy and provided that all disputes should be settled peacefully. The chief change since then is that the Stimson doctrine told other peoples in effect: "We will do nothing to help save your life but we will not recognize your death." It was a way of salving the American conscience after a successful aggression. Now the United States is less negative. It believes in trying to save a nation's life and, when its national existence is extinguished, in encouraging its resurrection. The nature of the change can be seen in the different attitude taken towards Manchuria and Indo-China.

The late Senator Vandenberg used to say that the United States in future should be "in at the take-offs as well as the crash landings." The exasperation felt over Communist success in Indo-China is that the United States was prevented from being "in" for anything except the crash landing. American policy for Indo-China was: give the Indo-Chinese local independence to provide the will to resist; give arms to provide the means to resist; give training to local troops to provide leadership and to take full advantage of morale and weapons; give assurance by binding the area together in a regional defence pact. The

only part of this programme the United States had been able to fulfill was the provision of arms. French and British policy, so it is held in Washington, prevented the other features from being adopted. The idea of an Asiatic counterpart to N.A.T.O. has been in the air ever since the North Atlantic Treaty was negotiated. It has been advocated in foreign aid legislation for five years. It was mentioned by Eisenhower in a speech over a year ago. It was not a plan suddenly improvised to deal with successful Communist aggression, but a plan to prevent it. Its revival at the time of the Geneva Conference was to strengthen the hands of the West in negotiating an acceptable settlement, not to undertake a war as an alternative to an acceptable settlement. There may have been risks in American policy, but there were risks in Greek aid, in the Berlin airlift and Korean intervention. The result of accepting those risks was to check further Communist advances and strengthen the West. To go back to the pre-war period, if a risk had been taken by the Locarno Powers when the Rhineland was occupied, captured documents show that Hitler would have withdrawn. By not taking risks war was brought nearer.

Closely linked with the Locarno proposal in American minds was the idea of "peaceful co-existence." It is the implication of the phrase, not its literal meaning, which troubles the Americans. They doubt whether the Communists really believe in co-existence, let alone peaceful co-existence. It has been part and parcel of orthodox Communist doctrine either that war is inevitable with the "Capitalist" (that is to say non-Communist) world or that the non-Communist world will collapse through its inner strains and stresses. At present

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co-existence is a fact; there is a Communist world and a non-Communist world. The important word is "peaceful." The two worlds have not lately been peaceful. There has been a hot war in South-East Asia and a cold war elsewhere. There is in short no evidence based on deeds that the Russian leaders will end their efforts to bring the whole world into the Communist camp. Whether or not co-existence becomes peaceful rests with the Russians and, in the American phrase, depends upon deeds not words.

This is not an Eisenhower-Dulles theory. In March 1950 Acheson made a speech on the difficulties of living in the same world as the Russians. Communist and non-Communists co-existed just as "good and evil can and do exist concurrently in the whole great realm of human life." If a tolerable *modus vivendi* was to be achieved it would have to be through "genuine evidence in conduct, not just in words, of an intention to solve the immediate problems and remove tensions which divide us. . . . We want peace, but not at any price." The former Secretary of State then outlined a policy closely akin to the Dulles "liberation" theory. The Russians could "withdraw their military and policy forces and refrain from using the shadow of that force to keep in power persons and regimes which do not command the confidence of their respective peoples." Acheson believed no more than Eisenhower and Dulles in underwriting any peoples' subjection. It was not Dulles but Acheson who said that in the Russian view "no State is friendly which is not subservient" and "anyone who rejects this notion is a war-monger." Arguments based on the need of being "friendly" with Russia still sound like exhortations to be subservient to her. Peaceful co-

existence moreover has been linked in the American mind with the "spheres of influence" theory. It is held to mean: Abandon all so far brought under Communist bondage. It involves not merely a negative betrayal of fellow human beings but the positive betrayal of acknowledging the Communist right to hold them in bondage and of guaranteeing their perpetual enslavement to the Communists.

The third subject of Anglo-American controversy or misunderstanding is the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. The President is completely and unalterably opposed to this in present circumstances. He said that 95 per cent. of the population felt the same way. The House and Senate have registered their unanimous opposition. Foreigners are frequently surprised at the intensity of American feeling on the subject. In part this is based on history. The United States had a sentimental and quite irrational attachment for China even in its isolationist days. The Pacific theatre of the war was a successful struggle to save China from domination by Japan. Victory has been followed by the loss of China to Communism. China was not only lost, it became the main opponent in the first effort to impose collective security. Because the Korean war was a United Nations venture, the United States had to accept less than full military victory. It was easier to become emotionally reconciled with Germany and Japan, which were plainly defeated and changed their form of government, than with China which was not defeated and whose government has not reformed. Now nations which prevented China suffering the full consequences of its aggression are proposing that it should be admitted to the organization which it

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defied and still defies. This is so inconceivable a proposition that, sooner than be a party to it, some leaders of both major parties have proposed that the United States should withdraw from the United Nations, if it perverts the high purposes for which it was established.

The Churchill-Eden visit did not dissipate the differences between London and Washington, apart from the fact that it provided an opportunity for explaining that too much had been

read into Eden's somewhat casual reference to Locarno. Its main benefit was that it served as a reminder that there were large and important areas in which there were no differences and that the differences themselves were over methods and timing, not objectives. Nobody in America fears that peaceful co-existence with the British is impossible, or that the Anglo-American partnership cannot survive a host of family quarrels.

DENYS SMITH.

FRANCE AND E.D.C.

By DAVID HOTHAM

THE controversy over the European Defence Community has grown steadily in volume and intensity across the Channel until today, like Lewis Carroll's monstrous crow, it darkens the entire sky of contemporary French politics. The chances of the Treaty being ratified by the present National Assembly is still anybody's guess. Not only the French Government, but the Parliament, the parties and the other organs of the State are divided against themselves upon the question; each Frenchman, who is not either entirely partisan or entirely indifferent, is wrestling with his own private conscience as to the desirability of ratifying, and feasibility of applying, this portentous treaty, with its 132 articles, its thirteen special protocols and its six additional protocols, the details of which, to even the best informed political observers, are only now becoming familiar, and the effect of which upon France's future is, to say the least, difficult to estimate with any degree of precision.

Partisans of United Europe have long been filled with impatience at France's indecision in prosecuting her own bold idea, aimed simultaneously at assuring

the defence of Europe against the Soviet menace and preventing the recurrence of wars between France and Germany. And indeed, by deliberate artifice or through sheer political weakness, decision has been postponed, by one French Government after another, upon a step the magnitude and finality of which, for a nation of France's standing, has invested such action with the utmost consequence. For there is no doubt whatever that, of the nations who are participating in this grave political adventure, none has more reason to be conscious of the risk than France. None of the other five participant nations has anything like so much to lose in exchange for such problematical advantage as has France. The Benelux countries and Italy have, on the whole, much to gain from all forms of European integration. Germany, the loser in two World Wars, her situation uncomplicated by overseas possessions, and champing for economic expansion in a wide European market, can, at least for the moment, feel the same. But for France, with her great past, as the oldest sovereign state in Europe and the centre of a wide, if now shaky, empire, the decision is far more

agonizing. Who can predict the effect on French prestige, on the French Army, on the realities of French national life, of entering such a form of close relationship with her European neighbours—in particular Germany?

The great difficulty of France's situation lies not only in the uncertainty regarding the effect upon her body politic of E.D.C. itself, but in the still greater uncertainty regarding the sequel which ratification of the treaty may bring in its train. Many Frenchmen accept the argument that it is impossible to keep Germany disarmed in perpetuity, and that E.D.C. is the least objectionable way of carrying out a German rearmament which must one day be done anyway. But even those Frenchmen who accept E.D.C. for the reason that it is the sanest way of effecting an inevitable German rearmament hesitate to support it by reason of the further forms of integration, in the economic and political spheres, to which it will probably open the door. It is an undisguised fact that the advocates of United Europe consider E.D.C. as the *clef de voûte* for further progress in the same direction. It is a commonly accepted doctrine, even among many who are not especially partial to integrationist theory, that the institution through E.D.C. of a military technocracy, on top of the existing heavy industrial technocracy ushered in by the Schuman Plan, will absolutely demand political control by some kind of supranational executive and "democratization" by some kind of popular European assembly.

The relationship of France to the French Union is not directly posed by E.D.C.; but it would be very acutely posed by a European Political Community. Nor is the French economy directly engaged by the Defence Treaty; but the serious prosecution of a single European

market would expose that rigid and ramshackle structure to stresses which, though in the long term they might be beneficial, are almost certain in the short term to be damaging to many deeply entrenched commercial and industrial interests. These two considerations, the status of the French Union in relation to any sort of European political integration, and the effect upon the French economy of any sort of economic integration, are sufficient to bring together defenders of both private interests and the national interest in a determined, if miscellaneous, opposition to such a leap into the unknown as E.D.C. unquestionably represents.

These French fears of what might come after E.D.C. may well lie at the root of much of the criticism directed at the Treaty itself. It is certainly significant that opposition to the European Defence Community has gathered both in volume and intensity in France since the beginning of 1953 when, for the first time, plans for political integration were drawn up at Strasbourg by the "Europeans" in the form of a shadowy constitution for Europe. It is of course also true that the passage of time and ratification of the Treaty by other members of E.D.C. have forced French parties and individuals to ossify their attitudes upon so grave a question. Yet the more one considers the matter, the more difficult it is to see what aspects of the E.D.C. Treaty, considered in itself, could provoke the virulence of the opposition it has aroused, so many are the positive advantages it offers to France. It provides for German rearmament under the least dangerous possible conditions; it prevents, for as long as the Treaty exists, the resurrection of the spectral *Wehrmacht*; it does away with an independent German general staff; it makes it strictly

illegal for the Germans to manufacture independently any of the principal weapons of war; in fact, if it does anything, it eliminates the German army from the face of Europe. Admittedly the institution of the new community involves certain rather poignant inconveniences, such as the stationing of German troops on French soil. Admittedly the French Parliament abandons certain important aspects of budgetary control over military expenditure with E.D.C. But all the most important questions affecting French military policy have to be decided by unanimous vote in the Council of Ministers, which makes the structure of E.D.C. far less supranational than that, for instance, of the Coal and Steel Community. In addition to this the integrity of French colonial forces is preserved, troops can be transferred to them from the European army in case of need, and this situation, besides being written into the Treaty itself, is doubly underwritten by number 6 of the additional protocols which were added to the Treaty at France's request. It is true that the ratification of these protocols by the other signatories, especially Germany, is still doubtful, but their infringement would probably be considered as a major breach of faith which would release France from her obligations.

It seems increasingly apparent that French objections to the Treaty are based not so much on defects in its drafting as on a resurgence of French national sentiment, caused largely by the astonishing recovery of Germany since the Second World War, and a certain sense of inferiority which fills France with apprehension at the idea of being bound closely to her old enemy by a fifty-year treaty, whose terms prescribe a limitation of German sovereignty at

the price of an almost equal limitation of French sovereignty. In addition, there are a certain residual anti-Americanism and even Anglophobia, never entirely absent from the French spirit, which tend to be evoked in times of political crisis. Undoubtedly many Frenchmen, apart from the Communists, consider the policy of European integration in all its manifestations as merely an aspect of American strategy in the Cold War, and both neutralists and nationalists resent that France should be asked to take so drastic a step merely to respond to the political and strategic needs of a world situation which may be only temporary. If the Cold War soon thaws, to the hope of which these unrealists cling, why should France hitch herself to the inexorable waggon of European integration, when the need for such a policy may be diminished at an early date?

In considering the paralysis of will which has afflicted the French nation when faced with the ugly reality of deciding about E.D.C., it is difficult to resist the conclusion, as has been already stated, that it is less the Treaty *per se* which is at issue, than the whole policy of European integration. It is one thing for France to be a member of coal, steel or even military pools. It would be quite another for her to enter a full-blooded European federation. France under E.D.C. would still be France; as part of a European Political Community, she would be merged into an entirely new European structure in which her identity as a sovereign State would be fatally compromised. The ratification or rejection of E.D.C. could open or close the gate which leads to such a prospect. For this good reason E.D.C. weighs with more than its visible weight on many French spirits, and upon the spirits of France's friends.

DAVID HOTHAM.

SAO PAULO SHOWS STARTING FORM*

By MICHAEL JAFFÉ

THE fastest growing city in the World" is Sao Paulo. The city has grown too fast for its successful citizens to do much more than consider whether they would find it worthwhile individually to employ a part of their leisure collecting works of art. But the Sao Paulo Museum of Art flourishes. Naturally its collections are bound to keep pace with the extraordinary outburst of wealth and energy which sets the local tempo of the times. The city celebrates only this year the first quarter-century of its existence. Even the hardened New Yorkers, who have watched the turmoil of development in Manhattan during the past fifty years, are astonished by the speed with which fresh skyscrapers can be added to the Brazilian townscape. The Museum itself has already quadrupled its capacity in the seven years since Senator Assiz Chateaubriand gave solid form to his plan for instituting a cultural focus in the lives of his fellow-citizens. A yet larger building is now envisaged for it that could house more comfortably not only the collections, which grow so rapidly, but all the other activities of which it has become generally recognized throughout the country to be the live centre.

Here is private enterprise with the lid off. The prospect is undeniably exhilarating. There has been, and there continues to be, a mass of money to spend. Donors to the Museum will not be lacking so long as Senator Chateaubriand himself continues to be the prime mover in this limitlessly

ambitious undertaking. The *Diarios Associados*, the chain of newspapers, radio and television stations which he controls, argue persuasively the desirability of giving practical support to his schemes. Unlike the National Gallery in London, or the Uffizi in Florence—to cite two only of many possible examples in Europe—the Museum of Art at Sao Paulo can afford to issue a regular monthly bulletin, giving news of acquisitions, exhibitions, and other activities; and at Sao Paulo these comprise concerts, fashion shows, and expert instruction in almost every branch of the fine and applied arts. No member of the community should feel out of touch with what goes on the the Museum, whose Picture Gallery at least he can enter free.

Perhaps the most confident and generous gesture of the young Museum so far has been to send this year to five of the old cities of Europe a considerable extract from its collection of European painting. Seventy-nine pictures, attributed with scarcely any exception to the most famous masters, together with some photographs and other publications to illustrate the very varied forms of entertainment and instruction offered by the Museum, have been installed in the Tate Gallery since June 19 at the invitation of the Arts Council. This selection differs considerably in choice of pictures from that shown earlier this year in Paris,

* *Masterpieces from the Sao Paulo Museum of Art*, organized by the Arts Council, Tate Gallery (June 19th to August 15th).

SAO PAULO SHOWS STARTING FORM



PLATE I

Brussels, Utrecht, and Berne; and it is rather more extensive. Amongst other things the handsome suite of allegorical portraits by Nattier, of the four royal princesses of France, and a version of Velasquez' full-length *Duque de Olivarez*, have been omitted. Certain highlights of the travelling exhibition remain; for example the splendid pair of marriage portraits by Franz Hals, *Andries van der Horn* and *Maria Olycan*, formerly treasures of the Pierpont-Morgan gallery; and the well-chosen group of portraits and landscapes by Cézanne. London is the gainer in addition by the inclusion here of the decorative little figure piece of *The Resurrection*, certainly of the Umbrian school, and associated with Raphael, besides such masterpieces of the first rank as Goya's state portrait of *Don Juan Antonio Llorente* (Plate I) and Renoir's early triumph, *La Baigneuse au Griffon*. Moreover, the rate of acquisition appears to be so phenomenal that two works are hung which entered the collection since the first printing of the English catalogue. One of these, a second very early Renoir, would be desirable in any collection, the *Painter Lecoœur* resting with his dogs in the woods of Fontainebleau. The little cluster of figures, much at ease in the cool green of the clearing, give sharp focus to a dreamy day in early autumn. This soothingly beautiful work, the product of the master's twenty-sixth year, offers an intimate pleasure to set off the glory of his *Baigneuse*, painted to such good effect for the Salon of 1870. In both pictures Renoir shows how early he could put to his own use the lessons learnt of Courbet; in the *Painter Lecoœur* the mood induced by seeming to extend the range of light and shade in varying intensities of green; and, in the great nude, the bold disposition of bodies heavy with heat and their sultry expres-

sion in repose. There the alertness of the griffon and the bright handling of the chemise in disarray emphasize the effect by brilliant contrast. Both pictures emphasize also Renoir's delicate understanding of Corot. And if, as Professor Bardi, the Director of the Sao Paulo Museum, writes in his introduction to the English catalogue, the intention is really to find paintings "representative of the artists who are indispensable to the composition of a panoramic picture of the history of art," then a Corot landscape as well as figures and landscapes by Courbet would have fitted admirably into the present selection.

The other last-minute addition here is a panel by the Dutchman Franz Post, a *Landscape of Pernambuco*. In a sense this 17th century traveller's report of a strange country, with its pretty vision of field negroes dressed in gay calico prints, dancing their antic round, is the only absolutely logical painting for the Sao Paulo Museum to buy. Even a committee could probably agree that such an appropriate and delightful picture should be bought. On the same wall at the Tate hangs a photograph of some sturdy little Brazilian girls in very white frocks, solemnly practising ballet positions at the *barre*, a civilized amenity provided by their Museum. They may be about the business which Professor Bardi has summarised in his catalogue introduction: "We must organize and define our humanism, a movement which presupposes the necessary contacts with the art of Europe." We may hope that the children are having a good time. The remote charm of the negro idyll may have faded from European eyes since the days of Franz Post and Maurice of Nassau. But, given encouragement by Senator Chateaubriand, there will continue to be dancing years in Brazil.

Apart from this picture by Post,

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SÃO PAULO SHOWS STARTING FORM

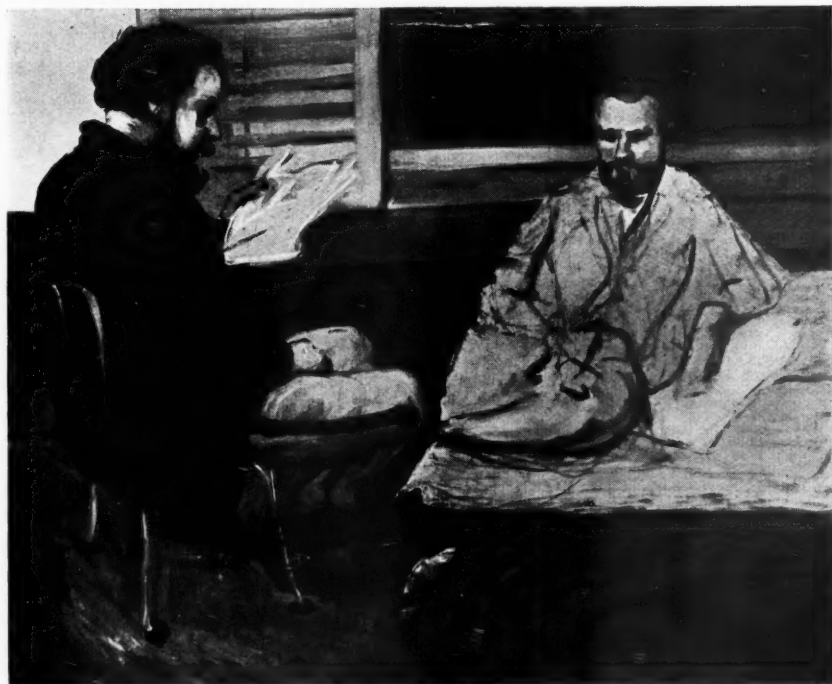


PLATE II

interesting but of minor importance judged purely as a work of art, the taste in acquisition is conspicuously eccentric, with consequent delights and irritations to the exhibition visitor. Consider the choice of works by Corot for a moment. One could not hope to find any more touching small work of feeling than *Roses in a Glass, June, 1874*. Robaut came from Paris with a bouquet to present to the revered painter on his birthday, the 24th of the month. Perhaps the Sao Paolo picture is the record of the gift. Corot was seventy-eight when he painted these flowers and this was his last birthday. His touch in painting has the ease and freshness of assured mastery. It is hardly the fault of the Arts Council that such a very personal picture, more suited as it is to the study of a private owner than to the walls of a museum, should be

tucked into a corner of a badly lit gallery too large for it. Meanwhile, a picture which the art trade might rate more "important," the tired and sentimental *Gitane a la Mandoline* of the same year, is given a place of honour in another room. Furthermore, it is difficult to comprehend why anyone who has the chance to enjoy what Russell Lynes has called "the intensely private pleasures of public collecting" should have bought Corot's little picture of his brother-in-law *Laurent-Denis Sennegon*, however sparse opportunities of obtaining more worthwhile pictures in the post-war market may be represented to have been.

If the smallest Corot seems the most covetable, the two larger of the four portraits attributed to Goya rightly command more attention than the others. The *Cardinal Don Luis Maria*

de Borbon Vallabriga is of the two more startling and—this is partly due to the overcleaning which has spoilt a number of other pictures here—less substantial. The *Don Juan Antonio Llorente*, historian of the Inquisition, must rank, however, as one of Goya's outstanding masterpieces. The penetration of character needs no comment. The sense of the man's worldliness, dignity and jet-black, jet-brilliant intelligence is conveyed with a minimum of recourse to accessories. Geometric patterns of shoulders, arms and feet assert the security of his stance alike in the picture and at the court of Joseph Bonaparte. The reserve of the head above and the body within the draperies takes lasting hold on our interest. The appearance in such company of the bust *Portrait of Ferdinand VII* has little to commend it.

Lord Hastings by Gainsborough, is another portrait somewhat in the Goya vein. Imposing enough at a first glance, it wholly lacks, however, the profundity of Goya or of Gainsborough when truly engaged by the personality of their subjects. The Reynolds group of the *Cruttenden Children with their Indian Protectress* is, sad to say, much less well preserved. Nevertheless, it remains an incomparably more attractive picture than Lawrence's presentation of the *Fludyer Children*, which suggests a monstrously pretty moment in a charity matinée performed by the children from a fashionable dancing school. The wise visitor will hurry past the other English pictures.

Indeed, the pursuit of pictures by artists working before the 19th century has not been happy. The Channel, as well as the Atlantic Ocean, is a miraculous baptismal font; and much restored pictures cross the water to start fresh careers rechristened with great names. Too eager use of these great names—Mantegna, Titian, Van

Dyck and the rest—not only misleads the innocent but destroys confidence in the standards and intentions of those responsible for collecting. This may hamper gravely the growth of real quality in the collection. With strong competitive buying in North America and in Switzerland, dealers have no need to let their good pictures run after bad. The assurance that Sao Paolo does not entirely neglect to purchase fine pictures by minor masters, passing under just names, is the enchanting mid-18th century period piece by Drouais of the *Duc de Berry and the Comte de Provence* in their gorgeous baby clothes. More discriminating buying of this kind, as opportunity offers, would benefit the collection. Perhaps also it could be arranged at Millbank by the superior spirit of Lord Duveen that a number of other works on show should return to haunt the bedrooms, as formerly they haunted the cellars, of those who sold them.

Given practically unlimited funds, good nineteenth century pictures are evidently easier to buy. But among those shown at the Tate exhibition, there are masterpieces of a far from obvious kind, the choice seemingly of a sophisticated taste in painting. One notable example is the picture of *Paul Alexis reading a manuscript to Zola* (Plate II), which Cézanne left unfinished when he left Paris for the Midi in 1870. The palette is of an aristocratic restraint, black and white with intermediate values of grey and buff. We see Cézanne at work : how broadly and solidly he enounces his forms ; and how coherent his expressive design appears even at this stage. Here are strong foundations with no strain on them to please, except in the literary sense of pleasing Zola, who appears as he would have wished, at once pasha and *chef d'école*. One might well

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PLATE III

wonder how far our own National Gallery considered buying this picture out of Messrs. Wildenstein's Festival of Britain show three years ago; and whether, as one suspects, it is a painting of which a public body would find it hard to agree on the merits of purchase.

Two more unusual pictures of very high quality are especially remarkable. Unlike the *Alexis and Zola*, Monet's *Blanche*, and Marthe Hoschedé's *En Canot sur l'Epte* loses almost all its summer magic in reproduction. The rose-red skiff with its pink cargo in the sunlight, gliding across the dark tresses of the river, and the solid construction of the picture according to the temperatures of light, has to be enjoyed, as Monet himself enjoyed them, by daily conversation with the original work.

The portrait by Manet of his friend *Pertuiset*, *The Lion Hunter* (Plate III) is another splendid feat of impressionism which deserves to draw the crowds. *Pertuiset* kneeling by his kill, with one barrel still cocked for the next victim, is everyman's view of *Tartarin* after shooting a hearthrug in the Bois de Boulogne. In painting it is so much more than an anecdote, a masterpiece created out of absurdity. These works and another Manet portrait, the full-length of the *Painter Marcellin Desboutin*, would make any gallery proud.

Considered together these pictures are the best augury for the São Paulo collection, and the development of many eyes there for the quality and spirit in the best European painting.

The Arts Council have done well to invite such an exhibition to London for eight weeks this summer. It may prove to be as great a turnstile success as their own exhibition of Mexican Art last year. It is a treat to survey what the impetus of private taste, wealth and enterprise can offer to a new museum which aims to support so much more

than a collection. Sao Paolo have made a spectacular start. It remains to be seen whether it will need a wise public body to purge the collection of some thoroughly bad pictures and to direct attention to less pretentious works overlooked in the race to grab works that bear great names.

MICHAEL JAFFÉ.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

FROM "Episodes of the Month"
The National Review, August 1904:—

... by a series of events intrinsically insignificant and doubtless altogether disconnected in the British official mind, which works on the pigeon-hole plan, but which formed a complete and coherent whole in the logical mind of the German, the impression was diffused that we were about to revive the former Anglo-German relationship which the British people hoped and believed was as dead as the Dodo. The reader should bear in mind that Germany, while courting this country in order to betray it, was simultaneously carrying on a far more serious flirtation with Russia, which found violent expression in Kaiser Wilhelm's amazing telegram to a Russian regiment about to start for the seat of war ("My sincere wishes accompany the regiment. God bless its standards!"). A minatory campaign was also set on foot in the German Press vituperating M. Delcassé and threatening France with "isolation" unless she was prepared to make her account with Germany, pointing out that she was losing Russia without gaining England. Happily our French neighbours are too intelligent to swallow this familiar German medicine. They were not born yesterday, and they have learnt a thing or two of late years as to the German genius for intrigue. We only wish they would impart some of their knowledge to the British mandarin. But it would be foolish not to recognize that the

accumulated effect of these untoward incidents has been to partially awaken the old suspicion of *perfidie Albion*, and an increasing number of Frenchmen are once more asking themselves as to whether Great Britain is capable of playing straight. Is the Anglo-French Agreement to be regarded as what it professed to be, and what it was believed both in England and France to be, viz., the emancipation of England from the German yoke, and the opening of a new era in Anglo-French relations: or is it simply a stepping-stone to an Anglo-German Alliance? While making every allowance for these suspicions, we can most sincerely and solemnly assure our French friends that they are without serious foundation, for the simple reason that no British Government could remain in power for a day after being guilty of such an outrage upon French faith and British honour. But the net result of the thoughtlessness of the British Foreign Office is that objections are now being raised for the first time to various parts of the Anglo-French convention, and suggestions for reconsideration are put forward, while the fact remains that the Chamber has adjourned without having set the seal of its approval on the compact. We venture with great respect to warn Lord Lansdowne that if he continues to play into the hands of the Germans, there is no more chance of the ratification of the Anglo-French Agreement than of establishing an *entente* with the Man in the Moon.

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

AUGUST PLEASURES *

By ERIC GILLETT

A REVIEWER once called Mr. John Betjeman "a passionate observer of the second-rate," but except for the epithet there is no truth in this description. Mr. Betjeman is a law unto himself and his enthusiasms are extensive and peculiar. He is as likely to write an ode to Keble College Chapel as he is to celebrate the charms of a long-driving young woman from Camberley. He is a nostalgic sentimentalist with the vision of a sorcerer. His attitude to death may be John-sonian, but his view of life is deeply appreciative for most unusual reasons. It is a favourite habit of his to make a point by employing an unexpected and startling image or element in his verse. There will be some wild stuff written about him as soon as the humourless young gentlemen decide to compose theses on his poems. There may well be allusions to his "bitter-sweet suburban humour," but it is unlikely that these critics will realize that Mr. Betjeman is, above all, a deeply religious man with a true affection for his fellows, however crass or callow they may be. That is why his satire is almost always effective. Perhaps two stanzas from his remarkable "Christmas" will explain his attitude better than anything else can:

And girls in slacks remember Dad,
And oafish louts remember Mum,
And sleepless children's hearts are glad,
And Christmas-morning bells say
"Come!"

Even to shining ones who dwell
Safe in the Dorchester Hotel.

And is it true? And is it true,
This most tremendous tale of all,

Seen in a stained-glass window's hue,
A Baby in an ox's stall?
The Maker of the stars and sea
Become a Child on earth for me?

A Few Late Chrysanthemums seems to me to be the most satisfying and accomplished collection of poems Mr. Betjeman has published yet. With only one or two lines which do not come off, he has written a number of wise, witty, and sometimes beautiful poems, fashioned out of apparently incongruous materials, and he has made an artistic unity out of them. Cambridge courts, old churches, Perivale, the liquorice fields at Pontefract, Ruislip, a garden city café, seaside golf, the Baker Street Station buffet, a cottage hospital, business girls, Greenaway, hunter trials, the old, neglected and sick, and All Saints' Day are among his subjects. His touch is as light as that of a burglar trying to pick a lock without waking a sleeping household. He is a conjuror with a magic so swift and potent for contemporary readers that I have no idea what his appeal will be to readers of the future whose knowledge of our

* *A Few Late Chrysanthemums*. By John Betjeman. Murray. 9s. 6d.

The Four Continents: Being More Discursions on Travel, Art and Life. By Osbert Sitwell. Macmillan. 25s.

Corsican Excursion. By Charles Elwell. Illustrated with drawings by Edward Lear. The Bodley Head. 15s.

Anahuac. Tale of a Mexican Journey. By Marc Chadourne. Elek. 18s.

The Yalu Flows. By Mirok Li. The Harvill Press. 10s. 6d.

Half Term Report. An Autobiography. By William Douglas Home. Longmans Green. 15s.

Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble. By E. W. Gilbert. Methuen. 25s.

way of life is bound to be limited and imprecise, but there is no doubt that no verse writer of the present day knows so well how to achieve his effects and to hit the centre of the target as swiftly and as often as he does.

In prose Sir Osbert Sitwell is just as sure of purpose, but his methods in prose are as leisurely and discursive as Mr. Betjeman's in verse are economical and direct. In fact, Sir Osbert has one of the most original minds of our time, and his latest book, *The Four Continents*, is, as the sub-title indicates, composed of more discursions on travel, art and life. The attempt to consider the continents in terms of the Four Elements is not essayed too seriously, and the book emerges as a pattern of congenial reminiscence, the considered experiences and views of one of the most richly endowed men of letters we possess. In his opening chapter Sir Osbert reveals an interest in the space travel of the future. Already, it seems, one can buy packets of "space money" in the New York toy shops. To-morrow the moon may be freed from the tyranny of *fin-de-siècle* poets and put into the "eager, capable grasp of shopmen, business men and financiers." There is something to be said, Sir Osbert feels, for transferring such busy fellows to another sphere, and nobody will be happier than the travel writers, whose prospect will be enlarged and splendid. The prospect will not, however, be much more rewarding than the opportunities for time-travel which Sir Osbert allows himself in *The Four Continents*. The past is mingled judiciously with the present. The Ringling Museum is faded out to make way for the Bowes Collection. There is a pathetic anecdote of the author, after an appalling crossing from Liverpool to the Isle of Man, being taken off to view "the famous collection of extinct sea-gulls" at Douglas before addressing

the literary ladies of the island. Once again the great eccentric, Sir George Sitwell, appears, this time in a scene which would not be out of place in an eighteenth-century comedy. Four continents of the world become, in these pages, an extension of the Renishaw estate, and they are all seen through the eyes of the squire. Everything is presented with the inevitable flair for the appropriate gesture, the apt comment, which could only be made by this writer. Urbanity and elegance are all, or almost all, because the pictures are made perfect by the salt of north-country humour which is an indispensable part of Sir Osbert's equipment. Without it the long, elaborate sentences which make for close reading would not be easy to peruse, but the reader is never allowed to relax his attention, knowing that if he does so he will miss something delightful. As when, writing about Sir George at his castle at Montegufoni, he says:

My father used, with a large air, to remark sometimes when it rained, and he would pace up and down one of his long rooms, "Everyone should have a gallery to walk in, in wet weather." Similarly, perhaps, everyone should have a tower to spend an hour or two above the worries of the world in a cool and airy seclusion.

Cool and airy are epithets which may be applied without offence to Sir Osbert's domination of the panorama he presents in *The Four Continents*, one of the best of his elaborate causeries on places and people and the treasures of this world.

Mr. Charles Elwell's *Corsican Excursion*, rather curiously illustrated by some drawings of Edward Lear, appears as a painting in cool water colours after the luxuriant tones of *The Four Continents*. Corsica has been strangely neglected by contemporary travellers,

although a reprint of Boswell's *Tour* came out two years ago. With a friend Mr. Elwell spent a holiday in the island in 1949, omitting to visit Ile Rousse and Calvi. The account of his experiences is unambitious, but he is a close observer and I believe that his impressions, superficial as they are, add up to an accurate and helpful summary of a corner of the Mediterranean which has somehow managed to elude most British tourists. Napoleon, speaking of his birthplace not long before he died, remarked that "There everything is better, even the smell of the earth. I would recognize it with my eyes shut." The scent of the shrubs, prominent among them myrtle and arbutus, greets the traveller some miles off shore.

Out of the unimpressive Cathedral of Ajaccio Madame Bonaparte was carried when she felt the birth pangs of her second and best-known son. In it there is a plaque recording Napoleon's wish to be buried there if he was not allowed to lie in Paris. Almost opposite, another plaque commemorates Napoleon's escape from death at the hands of his fellow-countrymen during his penultimate visit to his birthplace. He was never popular in the island and Ajaccio, with an eye on the tourist trade, is the only part of it where his name is held in regard. Mr. Elwell notes that the town is un-Corsican and cosmopolitan, and that elsewhere the Corsicans, who are still hot-blooded, rely on the game of politics as a vent for their nervous and often violent energy. It has replaced the vendetta as the national preoccupation. Corsicans have an acute horror of Communism, and Mr. Elwell noticed that, if the inscriptions freely scattered upon the walls were any criterion, General De Gaulle still has a considerable following. The island is not a gourmet's paradise and travel can be an uncomfortable affair, but there is an agreeable account

of an ascent of the Incudine, which shows that among the peasants courtesy can still welcome a stranger. Mr. Elwell has paid his modest tribute to Corsica with unassuming skill, and he is right in concluding that, "though the genius of the island has been adequately expressed both in French and German, it still awaits a Borrow." It would be interesting to see what Mr. Xan Fielding would make of the place and its highly insular population.

M. Marc Chadourne, as translated by Miss Jean Stewart, shows that he has more in common with Sir Osbert Sitwell than with Mr. Elwell in his well-illustrated *Anahuac*, the tale of a Mexican journey. He writes more easily about the place, its cultural traditions, its extraordinary monuments, and the sharp contrast between the ancient death cult and modern progressive humanism, than he does about the people. He is inclined to describe them as items in the general scene, or as details in an elaborate picture. His interest in Mexico has been kindled into a steady flame because he considers that it is a country which eludes judgment by the laws of our psychology and physiology, our politics and economics, by our scale of values and even by our sense of time:

This other America, a land without dollars and without machinery, has its being on a different plane of time from ours; present and past—pyramids, baroque churches, Ford cars and radios, labour laws and trade unions—co-exist, intersect and intermingle in anarchic profusion. The harsh, sun-baked soil of Anahuac brings forth its blossoms and fruits from all sorts of seeds.

He admires the people's passionate preoccupation with life, their capacity to enjoy without restraint, to suffer without measure. The prickly cactus springtime, bringing magic to a barkless and leafless landscape, enchanted

him, and his appreciation is the theme of a most unusual and distinguished book.

Unusual, too, is *The Yalu Flows*, the autobiography of a Korean boy. Mirok Li came to work as a doctor in Europe and lived in Bavaria for a quarter of a century before he wrote these recollections of his childhood. He died in 1950 while he was at work on a continuation of his autobiography. This was to have described the impact of the reality of European life on one who was so deeply rooted in the ancient civilization of the East. The English translation of *The Yalu Flows* seems to convey remarkably well the simplicity and charm of the original. Mirok Li's father was a prosperous and ambitious person who had considerable hopes for Mirok and his young cousin, Suam. They had to study hard, but their work was relieved by all kinds of diversions, and in their incalculable difference from anything known to the Western child lies the elusive attraction the book possesses. The Japanese occupation brought unhappy changes and Mirok's father died when he was still only a child. His mother realized that the new civilization which the conquerors brought with them might be outside his grasp. Mathematics, physics and chemistry proved to be outside his comprehension, although he had found it easy enough to learn the old classics and to love the poets of his country. She sent him to their farm at Songnim Bay to recover from his disappointment.

I have not previously read any book which gives such a vivid insight into the decent homely life of an educated Korean as *The Yalu Flows* does. Mirok Li was the master of a selective simplicity which has made his book more vividly evocative than any more elaborate and comprehensive study could have been. It is something written with

deep love, and regret for the passing of an admired régime, out of a full heart. It deserves to be widely read and studied in Europe, and I hope that the quiet voice of Mirok Li will attract many listeners. His careful, deliberate, unemphatic narrative deserves a large circle of readers.

Mr. William Douglas Home, author of *Now Barabbas*, *The Chiltern Hundreds* and other plays, believes in "the glorious privilege of being independent," which Robert Burns praised so warmly. *Half Term Report* contains his autobiography from his birth in 1912 until the moment when he left Wakefield Prison after serving a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. A general court-martial had imposed the sentence after he had disobeyed an order. He was also cashiered.

Half Term Report is a book which can be admired and enjoyed without any reservation at all. Mr. Home has the rare gift of remembering most painful circumstances and reporting them without any sense of grievance, and with high spirits and delightful humour. As an almost professional non-conformer, it would have been fatal to the chances of his book if he had not been able to do so. There may be bats in the belfry of his mind, but he never allows them to get into his own or anyone else's hair, and his interests have been so many and he discusses them so disarmingly that people who enjoy reading about Ludgrove, Eton, Oxford, the Army, politics, prison life and the stage are certain to find good entertainment here. He has an unpredictable sense of humour and a love of the ludicrous which must have been invaluable to him at some very awkward and distressing moments. His curious activities at Oxford, where he got a Fourth, provide the best things in *Half Term Report*, and the exemplary

tolerance shown to him by H. A. L. Fisher and the University authorities are, no doubt, responsible for his comment that the seemingly casual discipline of Oxford helps one to build up one's own character because one learns there that an undergraduate's education is largely, almost entirely, conducted by himself:

Everything at Oxford is presented to the student's mind impartially. There are no prejudices held or expressed; no flags are waved; no slogans drummed into the ear. The facts are there for all who wish to learn them: one may fit them to whatever pattern suits one best. In this way character is formed.

Mr. Home's book makes me hope that he will issue interim reports from time to time. His dramatic activities should give him plenty of material to work on.

There have been so many books written about Brighton and the Royal Pavilion that I turned to *Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble* with some apprehension, only to find that in many ways Professor E. W. Gilbert has succeeded in writing the best and most revealing of them all. Earlier works have been devoted mainly to the period between 1783 and 1830, the years when George IV patronized the town. Prof. Gilbert considers the growth of the place from 1750 to 1950 and has done his best to explain why a small fishing town has become one of the largest urban areas in England. He gives, in addition, an analysis of the seaside resorts in general, followed by a description of the physical background of modern Brighton. There is also a brief outline of Brighton's history before 1750.

It was in this year that the original stimulus to the expansion of seaside towns as health resorts was given by the medical profession, when Dr. Richard Russell published his famous book on the use of sea-water. Ninety-one years later the completion of the railway between London and Brighton began a new era in the life of the town, and for many years before the port of Newhaven was created Brighton was the Channel port for Dieppe.

Prof. Gilbert believes that the social life of Victorian Brighton was as interesting as that of the Regency. It was certainly more diversified and probably more intelligent. European exiles, social figures, literary and stage celebrities, and many others less admirable, adorned the period. Dickens' admiration for the place is often quoted, but I believe that Disraeli made the perfect comment on Brighton, when he said during a stay at the Royal York Hotel that he had eaten a great many shrimps, which were the only thing to remind him he was on the margin of the ocean.

The fascination of the place can only be captured completely if one lives in it, and it is fortunate that public opinion about Brighton and Hove has recently found a lively advocate in the Regency Society, which fights unceasingly to ensure that the best things of the past may be preserved and innovations made with some regard for the welfare of the place. Prof. Gilbert has written a most valuable book and has provided the friends of the town and anyone who wants to know something about it with a helpful and entirely readable compendium.

ERIC GILLET.

DEALING WITH FOREIGNERS

THE EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMATIC METHOD.

By Harold Nicolson. Constable.
10s. 6d. net.

SIR HAROLD NICOLSON has returned to diplomacy, a subject on which he alone among men of letters writes with absolute authority. He was "one of us" and, had he remained with us, could have had his choice of Embassies. With four standard works already to his credit, he has now produced a booklet called *The Evolution of Diplomatic Method*, packed with information and fun.

He begins with the Graeco-Roman period. Much of it is applicable to our day. The Greeks were verbose, dilatory, heavily handicapped by the ignorance and gullibility of parliaments. "A democracy," says Sir Harold, reflecting on the misadventures of Greek diplomacy, "when dealing with a despotic system, is always at a disadvantage."

The Latin case was also full of modern analogies. Rome had a totalitarian touch. "Right, or Law," said the Nazis, "is what serves the German people." The Romans felt much the same. They also practised the system of hostages, which is now applied on a far vaster and more barbaric scale by the Communists. There are interesting passages too about the origins of diplomatic immunity, which in our times has been stretched to bursting, and includes thugs who practise terrorism and kidnapping. Ancient diplomatists were kept in better order. They were sometimes executed for failure, instead of getting a pension.

The reader may be more interested in "the unfortunate ideas and habits introduced by the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." These were derived through Venice from the Byzantines, and saw "virtue" in cunning. They were therefore watched by secret police, and contact with diplomatists was often forbidden, as nowadays behind the Iron Curtain. The Venetians were "the first to create an organized system of diplomacy," with permanent missions and resident ambassadors. Its posts were

often filled by compulsion, and sometimes oddly. "Dr. de Puebla, who for twenty years represented Spain in London, was so filthy and unkempt that Henry VII expressed the hope that his successor might be a man more fitted for human society." Here at least we have made some progress.

From early times procrastination, affability, influence, duplicity and a good cook were expected of an ambassador, but he also had to fulfil the functions of a cub reporter. It was held by "experts" of the time that diplomacy was better conducted by them than by personal contacts between rulers. They were sticklers for precedence, and quarrelled for centuries before hitting on such simple expedients as signing treaties in alphabetical order.

Diplomacy was not always an esteemed trade till Grotius and Richelieu endeavoured to reform its methods and purposes in the seventeenth century. The former had an inkling of the United Nations, the latter deemed that durable relations rather than temporary advantage should be the aim of policy, and that "no policy could succeed unless it had national opinion behind it." He also had an instinct for propaganda, precision and good faith, which the modern world finds hard to conjoin.

He started a small Ministry of External Affairs. Under Louis XIV the French Diplomatic Service became extensive—though ambassadors had to pay their own staffs—and was a model for other countries. French diplomatic writing set the pattern for style. French was the language of diplomacy, and held pre-eminence till 1919. Opinion grew that the business should not be confided to amateurs, who usually take charge now. Its main end was the balance of power between France and Austria, till England, Russia and Prussia emerged and disturbed the equilibrium. A new process of adjustments followed, but the French foundation held, till the first German war shattered it with everything that pertained to simpler days.

Thereafter we shambled into a mess. There is little diplomacy to-day. Politicians and the Press have got hold of it, and

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pushed beyond President Wilson's intentions of open covenants openly arrived at. Since nobody likes to be beaten in public, Diplomacy by Conference usually degenerates into a forum for propaganda. The old-fashioned diplomatists, an international body whose job was peace, have lost not importance but weight and initiative. The politicians fly about, and feed microphones with formulae. The essence of successful—not necessarily impeccable—negotiation is that it should be confidential. We have discarded that method for manipulated publicity. We professional diplomatists have naturally never thought well of the change. If the new method ever had a chance, the Communists have wrecked it.

These brief observations do insufficient justice to Sir Harold's absorbing and condensed study. It is written with his usual lucidity, and his learning sits lightly on him as ever. Those who read his work may be sure of both entertainment and enlightenment—a rare combination.

VANSITTART.

JUVENILIA

THE HOME LETTERS OF T. E. LAWRENCE
AND HIS BROTHERS. *Basil Blackwell.*
£3. 3s. 0d.

THEY are all very natural, human and full of interest in different ways, and are a contrast to the p.c.'s sent to most mothers, saying the weather is fine or wet, or to p.c.'s left on the hall table unposted—"arrived safely." Having read T. E.'s letters to his friends and his other writings, I find Will's letters to be even better. In 1914 my 2nd Lieutenant told me, a Major G.S.O.2, that I could not write. I agreed. That 2nd Lieutenant (T. E. L.) would laugh to find me reviewing his letters and preferring those of Will. The latter's descriptions of Beirut, the journey to Damascus, of the people, buildings, bazaars, fruits and flowers, are accurate, vivid, simple, with a direct and human charm that places Lamartine's poetry completely in the background. Yet I had seen the same people and places

time and again from 1909 to 1943, hardly scribbling a line. Will's straightforward pictures of life in India in 1913-15, of his work at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, his sport and games with all sorts of students, Hindu, Sikh, Moslem, Anglo-Indian and Christian, are alive and give an encouraging account of our work and of our faults in India at that time. He met, or travelled with, Lord Hailey, Ramsay MacDonald and many other interesting people, and was always able to throw thoughtful sidelights upon them.

One of the best letters (written from Kasauli February 20, 1914) describes a visit to "Raghunnath Singh, an old man, sixty-two he is, with a military point of view, who said: 'we train our young men to talk of duties, not of rights.' He called several of the servants up to me to exhibit them, old men with wounds from the Kabul war under Lord Roberts, whose father and grandfather had served the family in battle." He competes with and beats them in the Sprint, in horse-racing and other sports (he got a Half Blue for the mile). Other letters, describe religious discussion with all sorts, from poets like Rabindranath Tagore down to Hindu bridegrooms aged 12. He left dogma and ritual alone but "the thing that some people—and I'm more or less in line with them—who find religion akin to human affection, not a thing to analyse, but to feel." That aspect seems to carry weight with most of his disputants and avoids all arguments of sect.

T. E.'s letters are, of course, always decisive and to the point, his description of a day's work in the office doing Military Intelligence is excellent and rightly shows that M.I. work is a collection of facts, compiled, then passed on to the few who should have them: solid, thorough and thoughtful work, not Romance. There are several items here and there which fill up gaps in his career or add to the history of 1914-18. But I cannot see T. E. producing his version of *The Taming of the Shrew* or *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as Will did in Delhi. T. E.'s letters are less joyful and spon-

taneous than Will's, or even Frank's, partly due to age, and later, due to overstrain, overwork and too much self-criticism. Of course, they are worth reading by everyone, especially as they are natural without expecting to be dealt with as literature. His later letters to his mother, then to Bob in China, became more matter of fact and describe his cottage at Cloud's Hill and domestic arrangements. In March 1935, a month before his accident, he had become almost bucolic and human, down to the level of us normals: not that he ever pretended to be otherwise, though one knew he was higher up all the same.

Frank was a gymnast at school, captain at soccer for two years and vice-captain at cricket: and joined the 3rd Gloucesters in August 1914 from the O.T.C. and was killed in February 1915, aged twenty-two. His letters are first from Free Church Camps for Schoolboys, Jersey, 1909, then from cycling in Normandy, 1910, and several after joining the Gloucesters in 1914-February 1915. They show his frank, religious views: his descriptions of places and churches in France, of incidents in camps with the troops, are graphic and illustrate that period of forty years ago as seen by a cheerful subaltern. There is some depth, too, in his remarks. His last letters to his mother and father were enclosed in an envelope marked "Not to be delivered till after my death."

The three brothers gave much encouragement, instruction and advice to their young brother Arnie, to get out into the country, what to study, what to neglect. (He has profited from this advice.) The book has forty-four illustrations and is printed well up to standard. All profits from it will go to the Altounian Anglo-Syrian Hospital in Aleppo, a hospital founded by Dr. Altounian, a surgeon of world repute, who carried on the good work till he died at the age of ninety-five. His son is now maintaining the hospital but with an overdraft at the bank. Dr. Ernest Altounian was an old friend of T. E. L. from 1911 and did very valuable work in

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the two wars as a Major in Military Intelligence, gaining an M.C.

The mental market of the book is far above expectations and would interest historians, archæologists, religious and literary pundits, and any human being with family pride. There are many who have a special interest in T. E. L. To them, these letters fill up several gaps. To others, the direct trivialities of personal or family affairs may be a relief, mixed up at hazard with history or art or truly poetic description of beautiful places or buildings. Most readers will enjoy delving anywhere in it; some sound sense or interesting facts will be found on most pages. I feel confident that my grandchildren will enjoy it as much as I did.

S. F. NEWCOMBE.

Novels

SPARE THE ROD. Michael Croft. *Longmans*. 10s. 6d.

JUMPING JOAN. C. H. B. Kitchin. *Secker and Warburg*. 10s. 6d.

CHILDREN ARE BORED ON SUNDAY. Jean Stafford. *Gollancz*. 12s. 6d.

THE TOLL GATE. Georgette Heyer. *Heinemann*. 12s. 6d.

TIDEFALL. Thomas H. Raddall. *Hutchinson*. 10s. 6d.

SPARE THE ROD is one of those books inevitably destined to attract attention by its subject rather than its literary merits, but before getting engulfed in the former, it ought to be said at once that the book is very well written; the characters are firmly drawn and the situations and dialogue have the ring of truth.

The setting is what is called a "secondary modern school" though the education in Worrell Street, a "tough" district in a manufacturing town, would seem to be very elementary in character. For all that, it is more than the pupils, described by the headmaster to the newcomer as a "gang of dyed-in-the-wool heart-breakers", are able or willing to take. John Sanders, fresh from the Navy and believing in his vocation, is appalled by the Head's bullying manner and

instant recourse to the cane. Surely, even with the most unpromising material, it is not necessary to come down to this?

The book is the story of John's gallant effort and ensuing disillusionment. He is given a class of elder children, coming not so much from poor homes as from homes where the parents are completely indifferent to education and in many cases bitterly resentful of the extra year foisted upon their offspring, who might otherwise be earning good money. The resentment is shared by most of the boys, to whom the things they are supposed to learn have no relation to anything either useful or interesting; and even more by the girls, precociously sex-conscious and yearning for the delights of stalking Yanks and necking in the cinema without interference.

John tries to arouse their interest and elicit their sympathy. A very few respond. His defeat in the end is brought about by another master, a badly frustrated man who has conceived an unjust dislike for one of the few boys from whom John has succeeded in striking a spark. The working-up of this climax is very skilfully handled by the writer, but the end is nevertheless a let-down. John is moved by a sympathetic Inspector to a school on a new housing estate where it is assumed that the parents will be more co-operative. We hope this may be so, because the author has undoubtedly enlisted our sympathy for his hero, but all the same we wonder whether the Inspector isn't being unduly optimistic. A cynical colleague tells John that "the Englishman is a natural Philistine" and that until education is taken as seriously as money-making or sport in this country there will be no improvement. Certainly a dislike of education is by no means confined to the children of the "working classes": we all went to school with louts and dullards. Education was once reasonably popular as the means to a better job, but now that the factory hand gets more than the clerk and social distinctions are melting, this incentive has weakened. Is it possible to arouse the curiosity of the very young child to the

NOVELS

degree at which it will later resist the blandishments of comic-strip culture, even without home encouragement? I don't know, perhaps nobody knows; but meanwhile, everybody should read Mr. Croft's novel, which puts the problem fairly and squarely and is remarkably good reading.

C. H. B. Kitchin is well known as a very accomplished writer whose detective stories, particularly *Death of my Aunt*, are established classics of their kind. *Jumping Joan* is his first volume of short stories. As it appears at the same time as Jean Stafford's *Children are Bored on Sunday*, the temptation to consider them together is too powerful for me to resist. Miss Stafford has been described as "the best young prose writer" in America and readers of her novels will know that she is very good indeed.

Both stories deal with the odd, the frustrated and the uncanny. Some of Mr. Kitchin's might be described as modern ghost stories, except that to a large extent psychology has demolished the ghost story by proving that nothing is so terrible as the imagination of man. He is a master of the art of building up a very solid and recognizable world, his people are exactly placed in society, they have relations, houses and jobs. Then suddenly this world falls apart, revealing at its core an astonishing fact, painful, violent or grotesquely funny. The title story alone plunges the reader instantly into a world which is "difficult"; the humble half-caste man who exercises a strange power of healing by taking upon himself the pain of the sufferers, and his destruction by a modern witch, stretching out her tentacles to encompass him. In some of the stories the shaping of events suggests artifice, but so does a frame around a picture. Within his frames, Mr. Kitchin's stories seem to me to be very good indeed.

Miss Stafford's is the gift of super-sensibility, the most acute powers of observation allied to a brilliant use of words. She, too, can build up a background of deceptive normality, but whether it is because this type of story has also developed to a formula as much

as the older type, the reader immediately begins to suspect her people of being mad, not violently mad, but crazy in the sense that we all are. If psychology has laid the spectre from another world (until this was brought back by science fiction) it has raised a sufficiently horrific crop from our own world of experience, fantasy and memory. So the moment we begin to read one of Miss Stafford's brilliant evocations, whether of a strange or a familiar scene, we know that there is something wrong somewhere: we don't believe the fat girl's stories about her beautiful twin and her exciting life abroad: we are not easy in Captain Sundstrom's hotel in the Caribbean, even if we don't remember our Swift, or in listening to Dr. Reinmuth's story at Mrs. Andreas's dinner party. Miss Stafford is an artist at drilling on the nerve, she conducts a psychological *Grand Guignol* but all her art doesn't completely dispel the suspicion that these bubbles, so skilfully

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Novels

blown up, are as evanescent as they are iridescent.

Anyone who is inclined to feel superior about best-sellers should at once go away and read one. Miss Georgette Heyer is a best seller and she well deserves to be. *The Toll Gate*, her latest romance set in the Regency period, is not at all a complicated story: villainy is black and virtue is white and neither can be mistaken for the other. The reader knows at once that the missing toll-keeper is mixed up in some dirty work and that the whole gang is going to be foiled by the gallant Captain Staple, assisted by an engaging highwayman whose heart is obviously in the right place. But although you can foresee the rough outline of the plot you are, by sheer story-telling skill, held in tense curiosity as to how the details will work out. In addition to her handling of the story, Miss Heyer can use the speech of the period with great gusto and complete naturalness; she also conveys a lot of odd knowledge. I learned, for instance, that one did not have to pay toll when going to church and that there was even then a flourishing incipient bureaucracy of Toll and Turnpike Inspectors. I enjoyed this book immensely and would expect anyone else to enjoy it too.

The chief merit of Thomas H. Raddall's *Tidefall* is its setting in a small town on the coast of Nova Scotia. The reader can smell the salt and the fishy air of mouldering wharves and warehouses, feel the enclosing winter and watch the flight of birds: the author also conveys with skill the rhythm of life in this isolated, forgotten place. When he is dealing with people he is by no means as good. The steps by which Saxby Nolan makes his dubious fortune, rum-running and ship-scuttling, are convincing enough, but his marriage with a girl of "class" has a novelettish flavour and so has her subsequent love affair with a radio engineer. I was afraid the book was going to peter out in sentimentality, but fortunately the author gives Saxby a magnificent sea piece to die in. It wasn't done with any altruistic motive but it was definitely "a far, far better thing."

RUBY MILLAR.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

DR. B. IFOR EVANS, one of the ablest contemporary writers on English literature, has been thinking over the relationship between *Science and Literature* (Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.), and in this book he outlines an approach to a new humanism, in which the writer may reach a closer understanding of science than he has yet attained. As always, Professor Evans is a sane and rewarding interpreter of a problem which called for investigation.

Livingstone's Travels (Dent. 21s.) is a book compiled from his own diaries and ably edited by the Rev. J. I. Macnair. This careful selection is the best means of knowing and estimating the great explorer's work.

One of the able young writers who has been silent for far too long, Mr. Desmond Hawkins makes amends with *Sedgemoor and Avalon* (Hale. 18s.). The lowland plain of central Somerset includes Glastonbury and Athelney among its features. Mr. Hawkins does full justice to the beauty and activities of a delightful region.

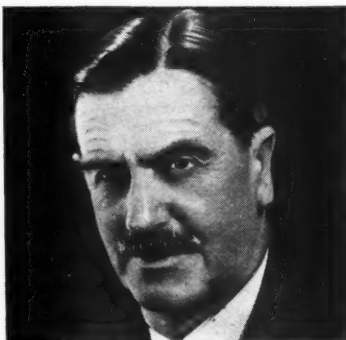
At eighteen Lord Samuel began to collect passages from whatever books he was reading. His *Book of Quotations* (Barrie. 15s.) is a welcome second edition of an interesting, thoughtful anthology.

The problem of the control and limitation of the growth of populations is discussed scientifically in *Hungry People and Empty Lands* (Allen and Unwin. 18s.), by

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Dr. S. Chandrasekhar. Special reference is made to the thickly populated Asian countries, such as Japan, China and India.

* * *

Police methods and the fight against crime from 1945 to 1953 are the theme of *Scotland Yard* (Deutsch. 16s.). During this period the author, Sir Harold Scott, was Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis. A good, informative survey.

* * *

A Book of British Profiles (Heinemann. 16s.) has been compiled by Mr. Sebastian Haffner from the popular *Observer* feature. An attempt has been made to put together "a composite Profile of Britain as she is to-day."

* * *

The work of E. V. Lucas has been too much neglected since his death. *Selected Essays* (Methuen. 10s. 6d.) have been arranged by Mr. H. N. Wethered, and the choice comprises a fair example of this lively but never intimate writer's work.

* * *

M. Phillipe Diolé's *4,000 Years Under the Sea* (Sidgwick and Jackson. 18s.), ably translated by Mr. Gerard Hopkins, is devoted primarily to undersea archæology. It gives a detailed account of surveys and searches in the Mediterranean. A fascinating successor to *The Undersea Adventure*.

* * *

The Arden Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (Methuen. 16s.), edited by Mr. Frank Kermode, is an admirable addition to the famous revised series.

* * *

Mr. John Smith's *The Birth of Venus* (Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.) is the work of a

truly accomplished poet. Mr. George Barker strains and wrestles with the language in his *A Vision of Beasts and Gods* (Faber. 9s. 6d.). This is a pity, as he has a rare and sensitive talent.

E. G.

RECORD REVIEW

DECCA issued their first long-playing records, a supplement of about fifty discs, in June, 1950: and now over four years later they have just published a catalogue of long and medium playing records, issued by themselves and their associated companies (Capitol, Brunswick, Telefunken, London, Oiseau-Lyre) which runs to 412 pages. This is indeed an impressive achievement, and one to be proud of. The catalogue contains an index to composers, a general alphabetical index, and a list of booklets available for recitals and operas, and it costs 4s. Supplements to this catalogue will be issued quarterly at 6d. a copy.

Orchestral

The variable lengths of music accommodated on L.P. discs must be a bit of a worry to the intending purchaser. Thus the newly issued Toscanini and N.B.C. recordings of Beethoven's Second and Fourth Symphonies are both on H.M.V. ALP1145, whereas previous recordings of these symphonies each took one entire disc. It is a pity there cannot be some standardization in this matter, but perhaps there are reasons to the contrary hidden from the layman.

It is very satisfactory to find that the Second Symphony is so well recorded, for that is unfortunately not the case with some of the maestro's Beethoven recordings with the N.B.C. The performance is magnificent, although some may quarrel with the brisk pace at which Toscanini takes the *Larghetto*. But he has studied,

RECORD REVIEW

I have heard, the speeds adopted in many other conductors' performances and pondered deeply over the question of what he should adopt as the correct tempo. This, then, is how he feels the speed of the *Larghetto* and it is one with his general conception of the work.

In the Fourth Symphony I used to feel the great conductor pressed the slow movement rather hard: but in this performance his interpretation seems to have mellowed, and in the rest of the Symphony he is again at his grand best. (The purchaser should pay attention to the surface of this side; the copy I heard was rather poor and not free from the L.P. vice of pre-echo.)

There are times when I feel inclined to give many L.P. discs a top-cut because of their over-brightness of tone, and so I much enjoyed Cantelli's recording, with the Philharmonia Orchestra, of Brahms's First Symphony, which is not only well recorded but beautifully mellow in sound.

Prophecy is dangerous, but I should tip this young conductor as Toscanini's most likely successor. He follows his master in a scrupulous attention to the demands of the composer. This is not "*My Brahms*," it is Brahms (ALP1152).

Jeux, a ballet about a game of tennis and a flirtation, was, even with Njinsky, who designed the choreography, and Debussy's music, not a success: but as a kind of tone poem the music, though discursive, makes a lovely impression if you just surrender to the exquisite sounds Debussy draws from the orchestra. Ansermet, with the Suisse Romande Orchestra, plays it with complete understanding of the style and on the reverse gives us the *Six épigraphes antiques* (originally piano pieces) in his own arrangement. These, also, are delightful (Decca LXT2927).

It is a curious fact that a wholly successful performance of a Mozart piano concerto has, until now, eluded L.P. discs.

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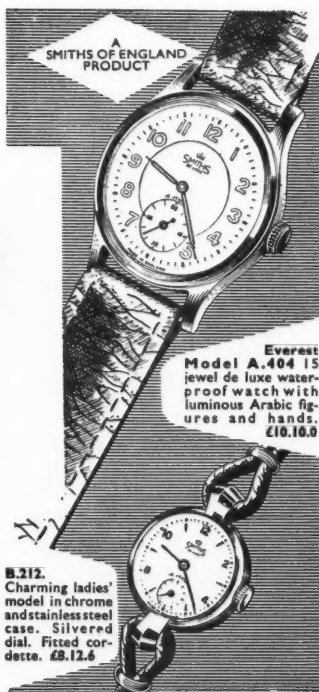
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But, at last, one can recommend, without reserve, the performances by Ingrid Haebler, with the Pro Musica Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Heinrich Hollreiser, of No. 15 in B flat, K480, and No. 18 in the same key, K456.

Miss Haebler, a Viennese, is in her early twenties, and was a 1951 Geneva prizewinner. I hope she will pay us a visit, for here is perfect Mozart playing in every respect, not least that of real elegance. The orchestral accompaniments are of the same high standard and the balance between piano and orchestra is very good (Vox PL8300).

Another young pianist, an Englishman, who recently made a considerable success here, is Peter Katin, who plays with great brilliance and musical feeling Liszt's *Totentanz* and Mendelssohn's *Caprice*, op. 22, and *Rondo*, op. 29 (the full title of both contains the word *brilliant*), with the London Philharmonic Orchestra, con-

ducted by Jean Martinon, on Decca LXT2932.

Also recommended: "Welcome the Queen" by Sir Arthur Bliss, who conducts the Philharmonic Orchestra in this invigorating and tuneful piece, splendidly recorded (Columbia DX1912). Elgar's "Enigma" Variations and first "Wand of Youth Suite," with the London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Adrian Boult. This "Enigma" is, to my mind, the best in every respect (ALP1153).

Chamber Music

At last a reasonably good performance, by the Quartetto Italiano, of the lovely Debussy Quartet, very well recorded, and backed by Milhaud's Twelfth Quartet, one of the few works by this composer I have liked. There does seem to be a heart beating in it (Columbia 33X1155).

Instrumental

At last, also, a fine and well recorded performance of Schumann's *Fantasie in C* played by Clifford Curzon. He reaches, at all points, the heart of this poetical and beautiful piece and on the reverse gives a charming account of the *Kinderszenen* (Decca LXT2933).

Schnabel's superb artistry puts, for me, his playing of Schubert's Op. 142 *Impromptus* at the head of all other issues of the work, even if the recording of the piano is not quite so good as in the others (H.M.V. BLP1030).

Vocal

Gladys Ripley, with the L.S.O. conducted by George Weldon, sings Elgar's *Sea Pictures* with unfailingly lovely tone and great feeling, and the orchestra give us, on the reverse, a vivid performance of the Overture "In the South" (Columbia 33SX1028).

Nadia Boulanger, after many years, follows her wonderful H.M.V. recordings of Monteverdi Madrigals with another set almost equally good. The women singers are different this time, and not quite so good as before, but Chenud, Derenne and Conrad are still amongst the men. The two tenors are responsible for

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two fine performances of very beautiful duets, *O, come vaghi* and *Interrote speranze*: and the remaining numbers include *Qui Rise Tirsi*, with its poignant refrain, and *Sfogava con le stelle*, perhaps the most original piece in the set. A harpsichord, I am glad to say, is used instead of a piano this time, and Nadia Boulanger has devised some fascinating instrumental accompaniments to several of the madrigals. A top-cut is advisable (Brunswick AXTL1051).

Hans Hotter is in splendid form in his Wolf recital with Gerald Moore, and both artists give magnificent performances of the deeply moving Michelangelo songs, the three Harper's Songs, the tremendous *Prometheus*, and several others. The balance and recording are admirable and this is a disc that lovers of the finest lieder singing simply must have (Columbia 33CX1162).

Operatic

Falla's *La Vida Breve*, with Victoria de los Angeles and Pablo Civil as the chief singers, the Barcelona Opera Orchestra and a local choir, is given a thoroughly authentic performance on H.M.V. ALP1150-1. It was recorded in 'the Palacio de la Musica, Barcelona. It is not perhaps everybody's work, and it is less immediately attractive than *El Amor Brujo* (Columbia 33CX1004), but it will be an irresistible buy for those who love Spanish music. On the reverse there is a recital of Spanish songs and one Italian song by Victoria de los Angeles that have all appeared before on 78's, and most welcome they are here collected together.

The Glyndebourne production of Rossini's *La Cenerentola* is splendidly recorded on H.M.V. ALP 1147-9. Alda Noni, as one of Cinderella's sisters (not ugly ones in this opera), and Sesto Bruscantini, as Dandini, give outstanding performances, and our two English basses, Hervey Alan and Ian Wallace, do very well indeed. Marina de Gabarain needs more sparkle and sense of fun to bring the heroine alive. The orchestra, under Vittorio Gui, has plenty of both.

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